

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1833.

- Art. I. 1. *The Life of William Cowper, Esq.* Compiled from his Correspondence and other Authentic Sources of Information: containing Remarks on his Writings, and on the Peculiarities of his interesting Character, never before published. By Thomas Taylor. 8vo, pp. 368. Price 12s. London, 1833.
2. *Essays on the Lives of Cowper, Newton, and Heber; or an Examination of the Evidence of the Course of Nature being interrupted by the Divine Government.* 8vo. pp. 330. London, 1830.

THE last-named of these volumes may be adduced in proof that the first (the latest in order of publication) was not uncalled for. Not that the malignant perversion of understanding betrayed in the attempt to refer the disease of Cowper's mind to evangelical doctrine, as the exciting cause, is to be cured by the clearest demonstration of the utter fallacy of the notion, and its entire contrariety to the facts of the case. Enough had been written and published to undeceive any one who had through inadvertent mistake taken up this idea. Persons acquainted with the life of Cowper only through Hayley's memoirs, might, indeed, be led to suspect, that the Poet's religious notions had some share in tinging his mind with morbid melancholy. But the disclosures made in his own autobiographical memoir, and the publication of the most valuable part of his private correspondence, which Hayley had suppressed, by his kinsman, Dr. Johnson, preclude all *honest* mistake upon this point. The man who, after reading these, persists in ascribing Cowper's despondency and fearful sufferings in any measure to his religious opinions, discovers an infatuation scarcely less pitiable than the malady under which the Poet laboured; nay, in some respects, more so.

It is difficult to account, on any other principle than that of the blindness of heart produced by error, for the hatred of evangelical religion, the loathing of all that the Scriptures term spirituality of mind, which these *Essays on the lives of Cowper, Newton, and Heber* exhibit, combined with so much appearance of outward

respect for religion itself. The first and second essays originally appeared in the *Quarterly Review*; and we recollect the impression of disgust which their flippancy produced, not unmingled with surprise at the gratuitous attack upon the memory of the dead, as well as the faith of the living. The third essay, upon the character of Heber, appeared in the short-lived *London Review*, and contributed to seal its fate. The friends of Bishop Heber were shocked and pained at the attempt to hold up the weaker points of the Bishop's character as his distinguishing excellencies, and to make the force of his example consist in his vivid 'sympathy with the pursuits and enjoyments of the world,' and 'the absence of spiritual feelings and spiritual language in his journal.' The severest and most uncharitable estimate of the amiable Prelate's religious character, would be far less dishonouring to his memory, than this scandalizing panegyric, which, could he have perused it, would have filled him with unutterable grief and self-abasement*. We are glad to know it to be the same writer, who has endeavoured to connect the mental alienation of Cowper with his religious opinions. The volume has long been on our table, long enough, perhaps, to be forgotten by the public; but the appearance of Mr. Taylor's volume presents an occasion which we cannot let slip, for adverting to its dangerous fallacies.

One principal object which Dr. Johnson had in view in publishing the additional letters, which afford an inspection into the gloomy interior of the Poet's mind, was to 'exculpate the religious opinions of Cowper from the charge of originating his mental distress.' The Essayist does not scruple, at the outset, to treat Dr. Johnson's testimony concerning his accomplished kinsman with sovereign contempt.

'Dr. Johnson thinks the information now given decisive, and that Cowper's unhappiness must undoubtedly be referred solely to his alienation of mind. We agree with him that the evidence is decisive—the only question is, which way?' p. 8.

Now, when Dr. Johnson's personal acquaintance with Cowper, and with all the facts of the case, is considered, one cannot enough admire the cool self-sufficiency with which this Writer disposes of his evidence, because it crosses the hypothesis with which his own mind is fatally pre-occupied. But the strong determination of the Writer to make the case serve the purpose of his theory, and to overlook or suppress the facts which would have overturned all his reasonings, is still more palpably evinced in the brief account which he gives of the origin and progress of the Poet's malady. Referring to Cowper's memoir of his early life, the Essayist says:

* We happened to be spending a day with the venerable Wilberforce, just after the appearance of the *Review*, and only express what were his feelings on reading it.

• We will not harrow up the feelings of our readers by quoting passages, of anxious, brooding, unsatisfied care, or of the vehement ravings of frenzy, which have given so deep an interest to the brief memoir of his feelings, preceding the total alienation of his mind. That such a rapid succession of thoughts, hurrying and burning through the brain, should, as he somewhere expresses it, have been sufficient to wear out a frame of iron, we can well believe. Our readers are aware that his intellects totally sunk under this pressure, and that he was placed under the care of Dr. Cotton, in 1763, for a period of eighteen months.

• His partial recovery was followed by that conversion, using the term in the sense attached to it by those whose religious opinions he adopted, which coloured his thoughts and feelings during the remainder of his life. Mr. Greatheed, who is his religious, as Mr. Hayley is his literary biographer, gives us the following account of his state of mind. "At length his despair was effectually removed by reading in the Sacred Scriptures, that God had set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. While meditating on this passage, he obtained a clear view of the gospel, which was attended with unspeakable joy. His subsequent days were chiefly occupied with praise and prayer, and his heart overflowed with love to his crucified Redeemer. The transports of his joy, which at first interrupted his necessary sleep, having subsided, were followed by a sweet serenity of spirit, which he was enabled to retain, notwithstanding reviving struggles of natural and habitual corruption." Our readers will recognize the style of those who believe these meltings of the heart and exaltations of the imagination to be the direct results of a divine influence. That they are the mere natural consequences of highly wrought feelings, we have no more doubt, than that the impressions they produce are sometimes permanent. Whether his ecstasies were natural or supernatural, Cowper had not strength of mind to support them. Though we are sufficiently acquainted with the hagiographies of spiritual experiences, to know that the paroxysms of conversion are more severe and exhausting than the subsequent communion established with the Deity, still we are convinced, that those nine years, of what his biographer elsewhere calls "the most transcendent comfort," laid the foundation, by the exhaustion they produced, of that subsequent despondency from which he never recovered.

• If the strength which was wasted in these outpourings of the Spirit had been carefully husbanded, and employed in repairing the weak parts of his character, he might, we think, have been spared much misery. Had he been warned that the flood of light which burst upon his mind was the false fire of insanity, not "light from Heaven," he might perhaps have escaped altogether that "midnight of despair" into which he was afterwards plunged; at least it would have appeared to him less dense and black, if he had not dazzled himself before with an excess of glare.

• The progress of his malady was natural. So long as the state of his bodily health produced light and happy sensations, his conversion

was followed by experiences full of comfort. But strength of mind was consumed, never to be regained, in a vain attempt to keep up this spiritual revelry. The stimulus which at first was found sufficient to produce the desired effect, required to be augmented as the novelty wore off, and the imagination became jaded. Then a strife and agony of spirit became more and more necessary to produce the feelings which he considered a communion with God. Even these resources at last failed. If the illustration be allowable, the brilliant lights, the ravishing music, and the exquisite perfume could stimulate no longer. This excessive and prolonged excitement was followed by disease of body, and exhaustion of mind; the spirits of the poor visionary sank, and his religious comforts were withdrawn. Then became apparent another, alas! an enduring evil consequence of his previous ecstasies. His mind, long habituated to consider them as pledges of God's especial favour, and of his own election and call to salvation, when they were no longer continued, or, to speak more correctly, when a state of strong excitement was succeeded by exhaustion, considered itself rejected of God, fallen from grace, and given up to a reprobate spirit. From this time, to the day of his death, the deep gloom of settled despair hung over him, and he was haunted with pining regrets after spiritual blessings which he believed to have been supernaturally granted him, accompanied with convictions that they were never to be restored, and with a soul-withering horror of eternal damnation.'

Essays, pp. 10—14.

We have thought it worth while to extract the whole of these paragraphs, as they will shew the extent to which Cowper's history is falsified, as it required to be for the purpose of the Essay, and the lengths to which the perverted zeal of the Writer has transported him; a zeal such as St. Paul describes*, in some sense 'for God', but *οὐ κατ' ἐπιγνώσιν*, and not merely unknowing, but refusing to submit to the Divine doctrine. It will not be difficult to shew, that almost every line of the above extract, with the exception of the words cited from Mr. Greatheed, is at positive variance with fact. Mr. Taylor's Memoir supplies ample evidence of its being altogether a misrepresentation of the case; but we shall first transcribe Dr. Johnson's account of the primary *physical* origin of Cowper's indisposition. Speaking of the 'aberration of mind' which the Letters so painfully develop, he says: 'To this was indisputably owing all the gloominess of the character of Cowper; a point which I am the more anxious to establish, as it has been erroneously charged on his religious opinions. But no: the unhappiness of this amiable man is to be referred to the cause already stated; and that, again, to an excess of hypochondriacal affection, *induced in the first instance*, as I have repeatedly heard a deceased friend of his and

* Rom. x. 2.

‘ mine observe, by his having, in very early life, improperly checked an erysipelatous complaint of the face; which rendered him ever after liable to depression of spirits. Under the influence of one of these attacks, attended with evident mental obliquity, he was impressed with an idea, originating in a supposed voice from heaven, that the Author of his life had recalled the loan. This was rapidly followed by another, to this effect; that, as he had failed to restore it in the intervening moment, the punishment of his disobedience would be everlasting destruction. Now I would ask those who have inadvertently charged the unhappiness of this pitiable sufferer on his religious opinions, to the operation of what theological tenets they can warrantably ascribe the supposition, not only of so preposterous a demand, but of a denunciation, under such circumstances, more preposterous still, as referred to the Supreme Being?’ *

Would one have thought it possible that a writer making any pretension to piety, should, with this plain statement before him of the real facts of Cowper’s malady, drawn up by his own kinsman, have ventured to substitute for it, an account, in which all reference to the originating cause of his ailment is suppressed, and the description of his mental alienation is little better than pure fiction? Every one who knows any thing of erysipelatous affections, must be perfectly aware of their frequent connexion with hypochondriasis, and of the almost certain consequence of their being checked, in producing disease of brain. We have known more than one instance in which a chronic eruptive disorder has appeared to receive its check from mental causes,—a sudden shock or excessive grief, and in which mental aberration has followed. In such cases, it is obvious, the distemper of the brain is but the effect of a metastasis of the original complaint; occasioned, indeed, by mental agitation, but which agitation would not otherwise have issued in any disturbance of the intellectual powers. And the re-appearance of the bodily disorder is, we believe, generally a forerunner or attendant of recovery from the hallucination.

In Cowper’s case, however, it may be alleged, that, although the predisposing cause was physical, the exciting cause of his mental disorder was moral, and connected with his religious opinions. Thus, our Essayist, with an appearance of candour, admits, that, ‘whatever Cowper’s religious opinions had been, he would not have escaped the depression and despondency of mind which arose from bodily constitution. But’, he adds:

‘while we are fully ready to admit this, we as firmly believe that more scriptural and rational views would have suggested the import-

* Cowper’s Private Correspondence, Vol. I. pp. xv., xvi.

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ance, and supplied the means, of strengthening the powers by which the imagination is controlled ; that they would have proved a support to him in the hour of trial, by supplying him with written promises on which his eye might rest, and which, according to a more sane faith, he would not have considered dependent for their efficacy on the vividness or dullness of his feelings ;—above all, he would have escaped those unfounded hopes and fears which so bitterly aggravated his physical sufferings. Supposing he had gained only this last advantage, we have no doubt that the state of his mind would have been rendered infinitely less miserable than it was, surrounded by the horrors of superstition. It is no slight alleviation of despondency, to have got rid of every thing but the physical evil—to be convinced that our suffering is altogether a bodily ailment, for which patience and composure of mind are amongst the best remedies, instead of irritating the disease by considering it a proof of moral reprobation. We speak from experience and observation, to the fact of such a conviction being possible, and being a great alleviation under deep depression of mind. In Cowper's case, the heavy anxiety of nervous disease was deepened into a religious horror by his peculiar opinions ; and we consider ourselves warranted in asserting that much of his gloom may be attributed to those opinions.' pp. 19, 20.

There is a wide difference between the previous statement, that Cowper's religious opinions *produced* his malady, and the softened representation, that they simply aggravated his distress when labouring under disease. Both allegations, however, are equally unfounded. The fact is, that, so long as he retained mental sanity, his religious opinions had precisely that effect of alleviating and counteracting his tendency to depression, which this Writer believes would have been the effect of more scriptural views. We have his own testimony, preserved in his letters, hymns, and other writings, and the testimony of all who knew him, that his religious opinions were his support, his solace, a source of nothing but peace and consolation, during the whole period that his mind remained unclouded. That they should cease to have this effect, when the balance of his mind was again destroyed by a fresh paroxysm of disease, is surely no proof that they were not fitted to alleviate despondency. What would have been said, had the poor sufferer, while obviously labouring under hallucination, still continued to derive enjoyment from his previous opinions, but that his happiness was itself an hallucination, and his opinions the essence of his madness? But, as it was, the insanity shewed itself in his being rendered incapable of receiving the peace and consolation which he had for nine years derived from those opinions, if opinions they must be called. Still, they had not the slightest effect in deepening his horror ; for the only gleam of comfort that his mind would admit of, came from the same source ; and his despondency, so far as it was connected with his mental impressions, was caused by ideas,

not simply having no relation to his theological tenets, but irreconcilable with them, and such as the patient acknowledged he should impute in another person to insanity.

The characteristics of mental disease could not have been more strongly marked, than in this partial perception of the incongruity between his own opinions and the strong impression which mastered them. Cowper's hypochondriasis settled down, in fact, into complete monomania; and to attribute the one false idea, to opinions which utterly forbade his entertaining it, and which could not have co-existed with it in a sane mind, is setting common sense as well as truth at utter defiance.

We are far from being disposed to deny, that the truths of religion may administer consolation even to persons labouring under mental disorder. Upon this point, we shall be excused, perhaps, for repeating some remarks which, in reference to this very subject, we threw out, seventeen years ago, in reviewing the *Memoirs of Cowper*. 'In defiance of the sneers of the infidel, we will venture to suggest, whether even in the sunless, comfortless recesses of the asylums which conceal the outcasts of reason, there may not be subjects to whom the Divine proclamation of mercy would, in intervals of intelligence, be most appropriate. Does it follow that because the reason is dethroned, and the mind is darkened, there are no gleams of intelligence, during which objects of hope and future realities might flash comfort into the soul? Are there no pauses in which the faculties might rally for a while, and collect materials for a prayer? Though the human temple is thus devastated, may not even its ruins be at times visited by the Spirit of its Divine Architect,—its lawful inhabitant? We do not fear to be misunderstood: we trust we shall not be wilfully misrepresented. It requires the most correct judgement and the nicest discrimination, to handle the mind either under the apprehensions of death, or under the operation of physical ailment; and too much diffidence cannot be exercised in pronouncing upon the *results* of the most promising impressions. All that we would insist upon is, that the subjects of mental distemper are not, at all seasons, uniformly out of the reach of moral instruction and religious consolation; and that, therefore, among the requisites for a competent superintendence of such patients, we should consider religious character as not less indispensable than medical skill. Every requisite met in Dr. Cotton, in whom Cowper found at once a physician and a friend.'*

While we maintain, however, the power of religion in ministering even to a mind diseased, and could adduce facts in proof of its medicinal virtue under such circumstances, what should we

* Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. VI. p. 327.

think of its being brought as an argument against the truth of Christianity, that it was found impossible to convince a madman of its evidence, or to make him sensible of its consolations? Now the argument against any set of religious opinions, drawn from their supposed effect on the mind of a hypochondriac, or a patient labouring under any species of derangement, is not a whit more reasonable. How could their real tendency be inferred from their operation upon a diseased mind? If Cowper's opinions were adapted to impart peace, and confidence, and joy to his mind while rational, it is surely a strangely perverse ground of objection, that they failed to alleviate his distress, when he became irrational. Reasoning such as this, infers a moral hallucination in the individual who employs it. With regard to the real tendency of Cowper's religious sentiments, the Essayist and ourselves are of course at issue; but this may be regarded as matter of opinion. What we complain of, is his utter misrepresentation of fact, in almost every particular of the affecting case. This charge we shall now proceed to substantiate by a brief recapitulation of the leading circumstances; in tracing which, we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Taylor's volume.

Cowper had scarcely attained his sixth year when, by the death of his indulgent mother, he was initiated into suffering.

‘Wretch even then, life's journey just begun,’

he was sent to a country school, where he was exposed to the most savage treatment from a juvenile despot twice his age, whose tyranny had such an effect upon his sensitive imagination, that, as he himself tells us, he was afraid to lift his eyes upon him higher than his knees. The long unsuspected cruelty of this young miscreant being at length discovered, he was expelled the school, and Cowper, as yet only in his eighth year, was removed. After passing some time in the family of a female oculist, to be treated for a complaint in his eyes, he was sent, at nine years of age, to Westminster school, where he was exposed to fresh trials and sufferings from juvenile oppression, aggravated by the constitutional timidity and acuteness of feeling by which he was too fatally characterized. The morbid tendencies of his temperament were unequivocally manifested at this early period. At one time, as he himself informs us, he was ‘struck with a lowness of spirits uncommon at his age’; and this dejection was preceded by as unusual an elevation of spirits, in which his imagination so far sympathized, that it suggested the notion that ‘perhaps he might never die’. Many school-boys of less constitutional delicacy, have experienced, perhaps, similar fluctuations, which have left no permanent effect on the mind, and have therefore been forgotten. In Cowper, however, they were indications of too prophetic a character. He had also, he tells us, symptoms of

a consumptive habit. He remained at Westminster School till he was eighteen; and he left it 'with scholastic attainments of 'the first order', but 'as ignorant', he informs us, 'in all points 'of religion, as the satchel at his back.' He was then articled to an eminent solicitor of London for three years, which his antipathy to legal studies led him to trifle away in the most gentlemanly and unsatisfactory manner. At the expiration of the term, he 'became complete master of himself', and took possession of a set of chambers in the Temple at the age of twenty-one!

Almost every error or mistake which a parent or guardian could fall into, in respect to the education of a youth like Cowper, seems to have been committed by his father and the relatives upon whom the care of him devolved after the decease of his better parent. How feelingly and how forcibly does he urge, in his *Tirocinium*, the duties which parents owe to themselves and to their children, and which, in his own case, were so cruelly neglected!

'The ostrich, silliest of the feathered kind,
And formed of God without a parent's mind,
Commits her eggs, incautious, to the dust,
Forgetful that the foot may crush the trust:
And, while on public nurseries they rely,
Not knowing, and too oft not caring, why,
Irrational in what they thus prefer,
No few, that would seem wise, resemble her.'

The boasted advantages which public schools are supposed to possess, were none of them realized in Cowper's history. He neither acquired confidence in himself, nor became fitted for conflict with the world. The scholastic learning which he brought away, by qualifying him to become the translator of Homer, proved of accidental benefit in supplying him with mental recreation when most he needed it; but this was all he gained by long years of unhappiness. In the mean time, his judgement remained unformed, and his mind, but slenderly furnished

'With savoury truth and wholesome common sense',

was, as to religious knowledge, almost a blank. Although the son of a royal chaplain, his education, in this most essential respect, had been almost entirely neglected.

Once or twice, at distant intervals, the tender mind of Cowper had been visited by those vague and transient religious impressions which, to whatever source they be referred, almost every one can recollect having been the subject of in early life. The first of these visitations occurred while he was suffering under

the tyranny of his schoolfellow at Dr. Pitman's school, and is thus described by himself.

“ One day, while I was sitting alone on a bench in the school, melancholy, and almost ready to weep at the recollection of what I had already suffered, and expecting at the same time my tormentor every moment, these words of the Psalmist came into my mind—“ I will not be afraid of what man can do unto me.” I applied this to my own case, with a degree of trust and confidence in God, that would have been no disgrace to a much more experienced Christian. Instantly, I perceived in myself a briskness and a cheerfulness of spirit which I had never before experienced, and took several paces up and down the room with joyful alacrity. Happy had it been for me, if this early effort towards a dependence on the blessed God, had been frequently repeated. But alas! it was the first and the last between infancy and manhood.”

And to what was it owing, that this effort was not repeated till it became a habit of cheerful dependence, but to the absence of all competent religious instruction and guidance?

A second incident which at the moment ‘alarmed his conscience,’ is too trifling to have deserved record, since the circumstance produced no permanent impression. In crossing a churchyard late one evening, he saw a glimmering light, and on his approaching it, the grave-digger, who was at work, threw up a scull-bone, which hit him on the leg. Not long after this, the young school-boy had to undergo the ceremony of confirmation; on which occasion, Dr. Nicholls, then master of Westminster school, addressed some serious exhortations to his pupils. Poor Cowper was struck with his solemn manner, and on this occasion, ‘*for the first time in his life, attempted prayer in secret*, which, ‘with his very childish notions of religion,’ he found a difficult and irksome task. These serious impressions, however, not being connected with any clear ideas, or cherished by any proper instruction, soon wore off; and he ‘relapsed into a total forgetfulness of God, with the usual disadvantage of being more hardened for having been softened to no purpose.’ The next recurrence of religious impressions did not take place till after his settlement in the Temple, and was still unconnected with any peculiar opinions. His own account of it is as follows.

“ Not long after my settlement in the Temple, I was struck with such a dejection of spirits as none but those who have felt the same can have the least conception of. Day and night I was upon the rack, lying down in horror, and rising up in despair. I presently lost all relish for those studies to which I had before been closely attached; the classics had no longer any charms for me. *I had need of something more salutary than amusement, but I had no one to direct me where to find it.*

“At length, I met with Herbert’s poems; and gothic and uncouth as they are, I yet found in them a strain of piety which I could not but admire. This was the only author I had any delight in reading. I pored over him all day long; and though I found not in his work what I might have found—a cure for my malady, yet my mind never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading it. At length I was advised, by a very near and dear relative, to lay it aside, for he thought such an author more likely to nourish my disorder, than to remove it.

“In this state of mind I continued near a twelvemonth; when, having experienced the inefficacy of all human means, I at length betook myself to God in prayer. Such is the rank our Redeemer holds in our esteem, that we never resort to Him but in the last instance, when all creatures have failed to succour us! My hard heart was at length softened, and my stubborn knees made to bow. I composed a set of prayers, and made frequent use of them. Weak as my faith was, the Almighty, who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, was graciously pleased to listen to my cry, instead of frowning me away in anger.

“A change of scene was recommended to me, and I embraced an opportunity of going with some friends to Southampton, where I spent several months. Soon after our arrival, we walked to a place called Freemantle, about a mile from the town. The morning was clear and calm; the sun shone brightly upon the sea, and the country on the border of it was the most beautiful I had ever seen. We sat down upon an eminence, at the end of that arm of the sea which runs between Southampton and the New Forest. Here it was, that on a sudden, as if another sun had been created that instant in the heavens, on purpose to dispel sorrow and vexation of spirit, I felt the weight of all my misery taken off; my heart became light and joyful in a moment; I could have wept with transport, had I been alone. I must needs believe that nothing less than the Almighty fiat could have filled me with such inexpressible delight; not by a gradual dawning of peace, but, as it were, with a flash of His life-giving countenance.

“I felt a glow of gratitude to the Father of mercies for this unexpected blessing; and ascribed it at first to his gracious acceptance of my prayers; but Satan and my own wicked heart quickly persuaded me that I was indebted for my deliverance, to nothing but a change of scene, and the amusing varieties of the place. By this means he turned the blessing into a poison; teaching me to conclude, that nothing but a continued circle of diversion, and indulgence of appetite, could secure me from a relapse. Acting upon this false and pernicious principle, as soon as I returned to London, I burnt my prayers, and away went all my thoughts of devotion and of dependence upon God, my Saviour. Surely it was of His mercy that I was not consumed. Glory be to His grace!

“I obtained, at length, so complete a victory over my conscience, that all remonstrances from that quarter were in vain, and in a manner silenced; though sometimes, indeed, a question would arise in my mind, whether it were safe to proceed any further in a course so plainly and

utterly condemned in the Scriptures. I saw clearly, that if the gospel were true, such a conduct must inevitably end in my destruction ; but I saw not by what means I could change my Ethiopian complexion, or overcome such an inveterate habit of rebelling against God.

‘ “ The next thing that occurred to me, at such a time, was, a doubt whether the gospel were true or false. To this succeeded many an anxious wish for the decision of this important question ; for I foolishly thought that obedience would follow, were I but convinced that it was worth while to attend to it. Having no reason to expect a miracle, and not hoping to be satisfied with any thing less, I acquiesced, at length, in favour of that impious conclusion, that the only course I could take to secure my present peace, was to wink hard against the prospects of future misery, and to resolve to banish all thoughts of a subject upon which I thought to so little purpose. Nevertheless, when I was in the company of deists, and heard the Gospel blasphemed, I never failed to assert the truth of it with much vehemence of disputation ; for which I was the better qualified, having been always an industrious and diligent inquirer into the evidences by which it is externally supported. I think I once went so far into a controversy of this kind as to assert, that I would gladly submit to have my right hand cut off, so that I might but be enabled to live according to the Gospel. Thus have I been employed in vindicating the truth of Scripture, while in the very act of rebelling against its dictates. Lamentable inconsistency of a convinced judgement with an unsanctified heart !—an inconsistency, indeed, evident to others as well as to myself ; inasmuch as a deistical companion of mine, with whom I was disputing upon the subject, cut short the matter by alleging, that if what I said were true, I was certainly condemned by my own shewing.” ’

In this affecting and ingenuous narrative, the indications are very unequivocal, of a morbid temperament ; nor is there any room to doubt that the depression of disease gave to the rebukes of conscience much of their power and poignancy. That the relief which Cowper experienced during his visit to Southampton, was really owing to the physical effect of the change of scene, is also obvious ; and it is strange that he should either have deemed it wrong to refer it to that as the *immediate* cause, or have felt that its being effected by such means, rendered it less really an answer to his prayers or an occasion for gratitude. It is evident, however, that he laboured under the double infirmity of a disturbed judgement and gross religious ignorance. He neither understood himself nor knew the Gospel. Labouring under a species of mild delirium, he was unable to discriminate the spectral from the real, or to distinguish between his sensations and his convictions. It was natural, then, that when the former subsided, the latter should vanish also. But does it follow, as many would be ready to infer in similar circumstances, that his convictions were mere illusions, and that conscience itself is but a morbid

sensation? Upon this point, we will again venture to repeat some remarks in a former article.

‘ Although we cannot always ascertain the *sources* of emotion, any more than we can tell how our thoughts originate, it does not follow that those emotions are to be viewed as mere physical phenomena, or that our responsibility is lessened by the circumstance of our being so much under the influence of what may be termed physical accidents. Convictions may be forced upon the conscience by dreams, or under the influence of indisposition, which are not the less just, because attributable in part to the state of the bodily system. It is surely not unworthy of the Maker of our frame and the Father of our spirit, to cause even the disorders of our animal nature to be subservient to a moral purpose. Before we regard all emotions and trains of thought that originate in physical accidents or in the imagination as wholly delusive, we ought to be satisfied that there is no *ground* for entertaining them,—that they have no foundation in reality. The character of moral feelings and moral actions is the same, under whatsoever degree of physical excitement they may be produced, as long as the reason is capable of discerning good from evil. And who shall say, at what precise point in the progress of mental disorder, the responsibility of the moral agent becomes annihilated? With regard, however, to cases in which the imagination only is excited, while the reason is clear, is it not obvious, that the frame of the mind may be regulated by physical circumstances, and yet the character as really display itself, the decisions of the judgment be as just, and the determination of the will be as independent, as if all excitement were withdrawn? For instance, a person may suffer a peculiar degree of depression, from the influence of bodily indisposition; yet, there may exist a real cause for despondency, and that depression, therefore, though partly accidental, will not be unreasonable, and the character which it may assume will not be that of illusion. The conscience may be set in action by physical causes, but the conscience itself is not physical. On the other hand, a person under similar bodily indisposition, whose mind is free from real cause of disquietude, experiences the efficacy of moral considerations to alleviate the pressure of morbid anxiety. “The spirit of a man may sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear?” Again, the elevation of the spirits under the excitement of fever, is unnatural; but yet, the action of the mind under this transport may be wholly rational and just. The emotion is physical, but the tide of feeling may be directed into a right channel; and the exercise of the dispositions of the heart, which takes place in consequence, may be of the most real and salutary kind. A man of fixed principles, whose mind steadily retains a grasp of its object, is, up to the highest pitch of delirium, to be distinguished from

the victim of those delusions which rest on the mere vicissitudes of feeling.

‘The mind seldom acts with energy, but under some degree of excitement from the imagination; and the most ordinary suggestions of the imagination which give birth to desire, and hope, and apprehension, partake so far of the character of illusion, that there is always occasion for an exercise of the reason in rectifying the impression, and in regulating the feeling it has excited. The Enthusiast is merely an individual in whom the passions are more habitually in a state of excitation, and the imagination operates with the force of a stimulus. The man’s sanity must be determined by the course his reason takes, by the nature of the object which engages all this enthusiasm, by the steadiness and consistency with which he presses forward in its attainment. And if the object chosen be infinite, surely it is the enthusiast alone, that is altogether sane.’

Whatever may be thought, however, of the nature of the emotions and mental operations which Cowper has so affectingly described, it must be recollected, that he had, up to this time, formed no theological opinions, nor come in contact with any individuals holding evangelical doctrine. Long afterwards, we find him thus describing his melancholy destitution of religious knowledge, at the period when the agitation produced by the prospect of undergoing an examination at the bar of the House of Lords, had completely overwhelmed his reason, and reversed the strongest of instincts,—that which makes man cling to life, even when it has become a burden. While despair was drinking up his vitals, and self-destruction seemed to present the only escape from the insupportable idea of facing the examination which he had invested with such ideal horrors, ‘to that moment,’ he declares, that he had ‘felt no concern of a spiritual kind.’

“ ‘Ignorant of original sin, insensible of the guilt of actual transgression, I understood neither the law nor the gospel,—the condemning nature of the one, nor the restoring mercies of the other. I was as much unacquainted with Christ in all his saving offices, as if his name had never reached me.’ ”

Now, indeed, he proceeds to tell us, in that heart-rending disclosure of his sufferings from which these expressions are taken, his ‘sins were set in array against him,’ and every chapter of the Bible, every volume he opened, seemed to pronounce his condemnation. He saw—rather he *felt* himself ‘a sinner altogether’; but he ‘saw not a glimpse of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus.’ Such were the spontaneous workings of his own mind; dis-tempered, we admit,—so much so, that he stood in need of the art of the physician not less than of the counsel of a religious friend; but still, on these points, not insane on the one hand,

nor, on the other, *indoctrinated* or warped by creed or system. Those who attribute religious gloom and despondency to evangelical opinions, betray not only their ignorance of the nature and tendency of those opinions, but their slender acquaintance with the human heart. What can there be in the most repulsive form of Methodism, in the most rigid Calvinism, so terrific as the self-made religion of sinful man, the creed of remorse, the dire theology of a burdened conscience?

To the views of Christianity which he subsequently adopted, Cowper was at this time an utter stranger. He had now (1763) just attained his thirty-second year; and it does not appear that he had associated with any persons of Calvinistic views, unless it was his friend and relative, the Rev. Martin Madan, whom he had hitherto considered as an enthusiast. But, in the depth of his distress, after the turbulence of his despair had somewhat subsided, his thoughts reverted to this contemned evangelical teacher as the only person likely to afford him relief. Mr. Madan lost no time in obeying the summons to visit him; and perceiving the state of his mind, began immediately to declare to him the doctrines of the Gospel. So decidedly beneficial was the effect of the interview, that Cowper's brother, 'wisely overlooking the difference of sentiments which then existed between himself and Mr. Madan,' discovered the greatest anxiety that it should be renewed, and urged Cowper to visit Mr. Madan at his own house. That the benefit was only temporary, arose from the hold which disease had taken upon his shattered system. The conversation at the second interview calmed his spirits for the time; but, as is frequently the case in nervous disorders, he woke the next morning under the unmitigated pressure of the physical disturbance, which speedily rose to the height of frenzy. In Dec. 1763, it was found necessary to place the patient under the care of Dr. Cotton.

Such were the circumstances that produced Cowper's first decided fit of insanity. For some time before his removal to St. Albans, he was evidently suffering under a degree of nervous excitement bordering upon delirium; and he expresses his own conviction, that, at the time of his attempting suicide, his mind probably 'began to be disordered.' His own record is the unconscious detail of the symptoms and incipient workings of mental disease. We must give the same character to the description of his own state of mind during the first five months that he passed under the roof of Dr. Cotton; and on this account, we should have deemed it not fit for the public eye. The remorse and despair which he describes to have been his tormentors, were so blended with the operations of disease, that we cannot rely upon the sufferer's own account of sensations and impressions which he was not in a condition to bring to the test of judgement. That

he should attribute his own recovery to the circumstance which indicated, rather than produced it, is perfectly natural; but his reason must have recovered its seat,—in fact, an alteration for the better had been for some time observed by his physician, who estimated the symptoms more correctly than his patient of course could do,—before the Bible that he met with could have been rendered the means of imparting comfort and instruction to his mind. He describes the change that took place in his views and feelings as sudden and instantaneous. A new view of truth, a new train of thought of a pleasing character, although it may be, and ordinarily is, the result of a previous process of thought and feeling, followed by a strong tide of emotion, must seem like a sudden transition. If the heathen Geometrician could exclaim in such transport, on lighting upon the solution of a physical problem, *Eureka*, is there any thing irrational or to be wondered at, in the joy with which the convalescent sufferer perceived in the declarations of Scripture ‘the sufficiency of the Atonement’? ‘*In a moment*,’ he says, ‘I believed, and received the peace of the Gospel. Whatever my friend Madan had said to me long before, revived in all its clearness with the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power.’

What, then, were those doctrines which Mr. Madan had exhibited to him with temporary benefit, and which, so soon as he was restored to mental health, he recurred to with such delightful conviction of their truth and consolatory efficacy? Precisely those doctrines which the Author of the Essays represents as adapted only to deepen the anxiety of nervous disease into religious horror. Among those gloomy doctrines, so extremely baneful to the hypochondriac, he places foremost, the opinion held by Calvinists and other misguided persons on the subject of ‘human corruption’. Now what was the actual impression made upon Cowper’s mind, when his cousin, the Rev. Mr. Madan, adverted to this doctrine? The doctrine of original sin, says Cowper of himself, ‘*set me more on a level with the rest of mankind, and made my condition appear less desperate*’. And surely this inference was as rational as it was consolatory. The doctrine of human corruption is not merely ‘gloomy’, but ineffably repulsive to the intellectual pride of the pharisee, the language of whose religion is, ‘God, I thank thee that I am not as other men’. But such is not its aspect upon the penitent who is seeking mercy as a sinner. To which class of religionists the Author of these Essays must be referred, we need not say. He is at great pains to shew, that ‘gloomy estimates of human nature’, such as are recognised in the Articles of the Church of which we presume he is a member, involve eleven distinct errors. We shall exhibit them in an abridged form, the whole series of paragraphs being too long for extract.

‘ 1. Such a person is disposed to extend to the nature of all men and all times, passages descriptive of the extreme moral degradation of individuals or of particular periods of history ; and to infer respecting human nature in general, a character which was historically descriptive of the actions and habits of the worst men and of the worst times ; as Rom. i., Psal. li.’ ‘ 2. Such interpreters are wont to accumulate on the nature of each, the collective corruptions of all men and of all times ; as the sick man is disposed to find in himself all the diseases of which he reads in a treatise on pathology.’ ‘ 3. He is in danger of erring, by interpreting passages which relate to the general prevalence of evil, to indicate the measure of the evil itself ; inferring the entire corruption of each individual from passages which describe, indeed, the corruption, but the more mitigated corruption of the whole race.’ ‘ 4. Such an interpretation of Scripture is sure to make no allowances for the warmth of eastern feelings and expressions, in estimating the meaning of Scripture.’ ‘ 5. A person under such impressions forgets to bear in mind the great and leading object of the writer of whose expressions he is estimating the force. In the Epistle to the Romans, the writer’s object is neither to deny the existence of degrees of virtue and righteousness, *nor proportionate degrees of acceptableness with God*, but to prove that these, be they more or less, can by no means be set up as a claim to the rewards promised to perfect obedience.’ ‘ 6. The person who forms his estimate under depressed feelings, overlooks, when settling the Scripture doctrine of human nature, all the innumerable passages which either directly assert, or indisputably imply, moral capabilities in man inconsistent with the doctrine of his utter depravity. For example, he overlooks all passages which speak of his *natural* affections, (to be void of which, let it be remembered, was one of the worst corruptions of the Romans,) and those still more striking declarations of there being principles in the human heart, according to which the heathen were a law unto themselves.’ ‘ 7. The desponding mind is in danger of mistaking the very nature of duty, by making it to consist in a constant endeavour to alienate ourselves from human ties, and to mortify human nature, rather than in a judicious attempt to restrain those natural principles which, though not wrong in themselves, are capable of great abuse ; and to cultivate those better principles of our nature, which, if rightly disciplined, tend to obedience and virtue.’ ‘ 8. In estimating the evil of the sensual appetites and irritable passions, the person who inclines to a debased estimate of human nature, fails to observe, that both Scripture and reason teach us that it is not the appetite or passion, but the improper indulgence of it which is sinful.’ ‘ 9. Such interpreters of Scripture overlook a most striking and instructive analogy between the physical and the moral fall of man. The earth was placed under a curse, when the moral curse was denounced on the human race, yet was allowed to retain good seed, and to be capable of bringing it to perfection.’ ‘ 10. As a voluntary humility in the worshipping of angels is reprov’d in Scripture, not only as erroneous, but as mischievous ; so, a voluntary humility in degrading human nature may be found to be mischievous in debasing the nature, rather than in humbling the pride of man ; and as tending to obliterate the sound moral distinctions, and to

weaken the right natural motives which urge us to the path of happiness and duty.' '11. In reasoning upon the general tenor of Scripture, many are led to assume, that man must be convinced of the entire and unmitigated depravity of the creature, before he will be disposed to receive with befitting gratitude the mercy of the Creator; because men are too often arrogant in their virtues, and humbled only by a sense of their vices.' *Essays*, pp. 187—199.

These Eleven Errors will be found to resolve themselves, on examination, into the one grand mistake of thinking worse of human nature than it deserves; the necessary consequence of which is, as this Writer tells us, 'an exaggeration of the doctrine of 'Divine Grace'. We admit the consequence, for Our Lord distinctly refers to such a connexion between the two doctrines, when he says, "They that are whole need not the Physician, but they that are sick". The species of consolation which this Writer would administer to a penitent, is such as we hear too often conveyed in terms like these: 'Do not be cast down, my friend; you are not worse than others; you have been a good liver; you can thank God you have not been a great sinner; you have a good heart; keep up your spirits; God is merciful.' Such are the pleas by which infatuated man would excuse himself from being pardoned as a culprit, saved as helpless, rescued as lost, renewed as depraved. That truth which above all others is hateful to the mind of an unrenewed man, is, that he personally needs to undergo a change, a mighty moral change, such as God alone can produce in him, in order to the enjoyment of future blessedness. The objection of the present Writer against the evangelical system of doctrine is, that it exaggerates this necessity. Can it be exaggerated?

Our present concern is with the tendency, rather than with the truth of the doctrine in question. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from setting down against the eleven alleged errors above enumerated, (which are, in fact, only so many ways in which it is supposed the same error may originate,) the mistakes and fallacies involved in the Writer's own exposition. First, he falls into the very error with which he charges the holders of the doctrine of human corruption; that of confounding the depravity of human nature with individual criminality,—the nature common to all with personal character. Secondly, he confounds 'moral 'capabilities' with depraved affections, and the law of conscience with the law of inclination. Thirdly, he argues as if the proper way of describing the nature of a disease was, not to select such cases of malignant disorder as exhibit it in unchecked operation, and under its final stages; (as St. Paul has done in the first chapter of Romans, but then the Apostle is deemed by many persons a bad reasoner;) but to take a more *charitable* view of the distemper as it may appear in its incipient symptoms or under

sanative treatment. Fourthly, he denies that human nature is the same nature in all men, some individuals having received a 'better nature', others a 'worse nature' (p. 200) from God; thus making every man's nature, whether more or less corrupt, originate with the Divine appointment, in admirable accordance with Art. ix. of the Church of England! Fifthly, he explains away the Scripture doctrine of mortifying the flesh with its affections and lusts, by representing St. Paul as merely teaching us not to indulge those 'blameless' propensities *too far*, and by confounding spirituality of mind with the spurious mortification of the cloister and the desert. Sixthly, he mistakes the argument of St. Paul in the seventh chapter of Romans, representing him as there urging the impossibility of sinless obedience in the believer, whereas he is speaking of an unregenerate man; a mistake which the Writer has fallen into in common with many evangelical expositors. Seventhly, (not to seem as ingenious as the Writer in multiplying the modifications of one primary error,) he confounds humility with despondency; and supposes that self-abasement before God must needs be a hopeless, gloomy, wretched feeling, leading to fanaticism and despair. We leave it to our readers to compare these errors with those attributed to the evangelical doctrine.

It is not, after all, attempted to be denied, that the immediate effect, on Cowper's feelings, of 'what are called serious or evangelical views' on these points and the correlative doctrines, was favourable to his happiness. 'So long as the state of his bodily health produced light and happy sensations, his conversion', it is admitted, 'was followed by experiences full of comfort.' So that all that is alleged respecting the tendency of the doctrine of human corruption to produce despondency, was, in his case, disproved by the fact. For nine years, (from 1764 to the beginning of 1773,) Cowper lived in the enjoyment of a delightful serenity of mind. For a description of this, the happiest, the only happy portion of his life, we refer to Chap. iv., v., and vi. of Mr. Taylor's memoir. But, strange to say, these nine happy years, are, by a perversion of fact and reasoning which we cannot but regard as monstrous, supposed to have 'laid the foundation, by the exhaustion they produced, of that subsequent despondency from which he never recovered!' To speak of 'ecstasies', 'spiritual revelry', exhausting experiences, lasting for nine years, is purely absurd. No state of mind resulting from mere excitement, could by possibility have been kept up during a single year, without being followed by a total prostration of the physical frame. But, allow this to be possible, the cause of Cowper's relapse, and its nature, were too palpable to admit of mistake; and the Writer, by suppressing all reference to the facts, stands chargeable with wilful misrepresentation.

Cowper's feelings had received a severe shock in February, 1770, through his having been twice summoned to Cambridge by the illness of his beloved brother, which terminated fatally on the 20th of the following month. But another circumstance is believed to have contributed to produce a degree of excitement and agitation unfavourable to his constitutional infirmity. The day for accomplishing a matrimonial union with Mrs. Unwin was fixed, when a fresh attack of his hypochondriacal malady took place, which, for five years, plunged him into utter mental darkness. One would have thought that the re-appearance of constitutional disease in one who had been subject to similar visitations in early youth, and who had once been under the treatment of a physician as insane, was not in itself a thing so unusual and surprising as to require a very far-fetched way of accounting for it. Cowper was now in his forty-second year; a time of life at which constitutional tendencies of this lamentable kind are remarkably apt to display themselves. He appears to have had some presentiment, or rather some consciousness, of its approach. The first symptoms were simply physical, indicating that his health was giving way. Whether by any treatment, or under any circumstances, the attack could have been warded off, may be questioned; but it is not doubtful that grief and agitation would greatly tend to aggravate the predisposition to disease. The immediate cause of his first decided aberration from sanity, was, we have seen, his agitation and terror at the prospect of undergoing an examination at the bar of the House of Lords. The immediate cause of his second attack was, according to our Essayist, the religious opinions he had held for the preceding nine years! the 'previous ecstasies' of an exhausting communion with God during nine years!! 'His mind, long habituated to 'consider these ecstasies as pledges of God's especial favour, and 'of his own election and call to salvation, when they were no 'longer continued, considered itself rejected of God.' That is to say, the *symptoms* and *effects* of his mental aberration were the cause of it! The philosophy of the conclusion is on a par with its piety.

We have seen that Cowper suffered from religious melancholy, or from that which would be so called, before he had acquired any distinct knowledge of the Christian doctrine, or manifested in his conduct any settled religious principle. In plain terms, if religion had any share in making him either melancholy or mad in the first instance, it must have been the want of it. But now his inveterate melancholy is to be ascribed to 'exaggerated estimates of human corruption', and 'exaggerated expectations of 'Divine grace.' What was the fact? The idea with which Cowper's physical depression became at length inseparably combined, the impression in which his insanity was, as it were, con-

centrated, had no more connexion with his religious opinions, than had his school-boy fears, or his terror at the House of Lords. This is susceptible of the clearest demonstration. Any man without a grain of religion might have taken up the insane notion, but no religious man, not insane, could have conceived, that his Maker had commanded him to commit suicide, and then sentenced him to damnation for not obeying the command. Such was Cowper's hallucination; such the source, so far as it had any source in his opinions, of his despair. Now he did not hold a single theological tenet that was not directly at variance with this strange persuasion. And what is more, he was to a certain extent aware of this, but, like other patients, deemed himself an exception to all general rules. Sensible that the cause of his despondency must appear to his religious friends imaginary and irrational, he says, in a letter to Mr. Newton: 'My friends think 'it necessary to the existence of Divine truth, that he who once 'had possession of it, should never finally lose it. *I admit the 'solidity of this reasoning in every case but my own. And 'why not in my own? For causes which to them it appears 'madness to allege, but which rest upon my mind with a weight 'of immoveable conviction. If I am recoverable, why am I 'thus?'*'* In another very remarkable letter, adverting to the closely analogous case of the learned Simon Browne, who imagined that the thinking faculty within him was annihilated, Cowper uses this consistently insane language:

'I could, were it not a subject that would make us all melancholy, point out to you some essential differences between his state of mind and my own, which would prove mine to be by far the most deplorable of the two. I suppose no man would despair, if he did not apprehend something singular in the circumstances of his own story, something that discriminates it from that of every other man, and that induces despair as an inevitable consequence. You may encounter his unhappy persuasion with as many instances as you please, of persons who, like him, having renounced all hope, were yet restored; and may thence infer that he, like them, shall meet with a season of restoration; but it is in vain. Every such individual accounts himself as an exception to all rules, and therefore the blessed reverse that others have experienced, affords no ground of comfortable expectation to *him*.'

Priv. Corresp. Vol. I. pp. 212, 13.

The letters from which these passages are taken, were written to Mr. Newton in 1782 and 1784, when the paroxysm of his disorder had settled down into that milder insanity which is always found incurable, the madness upon one idea. In a letter to Mr. Bull, of which Hayley has printed only part, he uses

* *Private Correspondence*, Vol. I. p. 309.

language still more unequivocally betraying the hallucination under which he laboured.

‘ Prove to me that I have a right to pray, and I will pray without ceasing ; yes, and praise too, even in the belly of this hell, compared with which Jonah’s was a palace, a temple of the living God. But let me add, there is no encouragement in the Scripture so comprehensive as to include my case, nor any consolation so effectual as to reach it. *I don’t relate it to you, because you could not believe it. You would agree with me if you could. And yet, the sin by which I am excluded from the privileges I once enjoyed, you would account no sin. You would even tell me it was a duty. This is strange,—you will think me mad. But I am not mad, most noble Festus. I am only in despair.*’ *

Once more, in a letter to Mr. Newton, dated Jan. 1787, just before a fresh paroxysm of nervous fever, which compelled him to suspend all his poetical labours during ten months, he uses language which implies an indistinct consciousness that his sufferings were to be ascribed to a physical cause.

‘ The mind of man is not a fountain, but a cistern ; and mine, God knows, *a broken one . . .* Sally Perry’s case has given us much concern. I have no doubt that it is distemper. But *distresses of mind that are occasioned by distemper, are the most difficult of all to deal with. They refuse all consolation : they will hear no reason. God only, by his own immediate impressions, can remove them ; as, after an experience of thirteen years’ misery, I can abundantly testify.*

Priv. Corresp. Vol. II. pp. 94, 6.

Need we multiply extracts in illustration of the real nature of his distress ? It is a melancholy subject, but the importance of placing Cowper’s malady in a just light, arises not merely from the ignorant and malignant use that has been made of his case by the enemies of religion, but from its being no solitary and unprecedented one. We shall make no apology, therefore, for repeating the description given of it on a former occasion. ‘ Cowper’s despair was a purely physical sensation. He had not been led into it by any mental process : it was not a conclusion at which he had arrived by the operation of either reason or conscience, for it was unconnected with any one tenet or principle which he held. It had fallen upon him as a visitation, and he struggled with it as with an incubus, half suspecting that it was a phantom that seemed to weigh him down, but still it was there ; and he here argues from its continuance to its reality : “ If I am recoverable, why am I thus ? ” The sensation was

* See the entire letter in Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. VI. p. 337, where it was first printed.

real: it could not be reasoned away, any more than can headache or a fit of the stone. It was as clearly a case of hypochondriasis, as those instances in which the patient has fancied himself a tea-pot or a sack of wool, or has imagined his thinking substance destroyed. Cowper's only seemed to be a more rational impression: that it was not really so, is evident from the specific nature of the idea on which he fixed, namely, that he was excluded from salvation for not having committed suicide. That this idea produced his melancholy, no one who deserves to be himself considered as rational, can maintain: it was his melancholy which produced the idea. Religion could not have given birth to it, nor could it have survived one moment the presence of distemper. The patient more than half suspected, at times, that disease was the cause of all his mental suffering; but he could not *know* it, the impossibility of discerning between what is delusive and what is real, constituting the very essence of the disease. That knowledge would have involved his being sane on the very point to which his irrationality was limited: he would then have been well. It is observable, that he never attempts to give a reason for his despair, but only assumes that its existence in his mind proved the truth of the impression which seemed to himself to cause it: in this, he argued as all hypochondriacs and maniacs do. But, in fancying himself crippled, and made useless, and turned out of service, he argued not irrationally; he was only mistaken; and it is pleasing to reflect, (as it has long since been to him a source of the purest joy and gratitude to know,) how greatly he was mistaken. All the mystery has long ago been explained to him. In the above letter, (Vol. I. p. 309,) he evidently alludes to his belief in the doctrine of Final Perseverance, (which, properly understood, is but the doctrine of Regeneration,) as flatly opposed, in every case but his own, to his mournful conclusion, or rather delusion. He does not doubt his having been truly made a partaker of spiritual life, but, with his own peculiar force of expression, intimates that his soul had been slain by the hand of God. Mr. Newton appears to have seen the total inutility of combating this impression by argument, and to have attempted to dissuade his afflicted friend from suffering himself to dwell on the topic.*

We have referred to the access of nervous fever which Cowper suffered in January, 1787. From the dreadful condition of mind into which it plunged him, he emerged suddenly; 'so suddenly,' he says, 'that Mrs. Unwin, having no notice of such a change herself, could give none to any body.' He continued to dread the recurrence of that month, which had twice returned upon

* Ecl. Rev. Vol. XXI. pp. 200, 1.

him, 'accompanied with such horrors as he had no reason to 'suppose ever made part of the experience of any other man.' Early in December, 1790, he had another short but severe attack of nervous fever, which was not succeeded, however, by the usual paroxysm of the mental depression under which he continued to suffer. This, although it admitted of comparatively lucid intervals, in which he had a glimmering of his real predicament as the subject of distemper, never entirely left him. In a letter to Mrs. King, dated July, 1790, he thus describes his state of mind.

'I have singularities of which, I believe, at present you know nothing; and which would fill you with wonder if you knew them. I will add, however, in justice to myself, that they would not lower me in your good opinion; *though, perhaps, they might tempt you to question the soundness of my upper story.* Almost twenty years have I been thus unhappily circumstanced; and the remedy is in the hand of God. That I make you this partial communication on the subject, conscious at the same time that you are well worthy to be entrusted with the whole, is merely because the recital would be too long for a letter, and painful both to me and to you. *But all this may vanish in a moment; and if it please God, it shall.* In the meantime, my dear madam, remember me in your prayers, and mention me at those times as one whom it has pleased God to afflict with *singular visitations.*' *Priv. Corresp.* Vol. II. pp. 223, 4.

In 1791, Cowper's spirits received a severe shock from Mrs. Unwin's being seized with a disorder which proved to be of a paralytic kind. A second attack, in May of the following year, which deprived her, in a very distressing degree, of the use of her limbs, her speech, and her faculties, threw her affectionate companion into a fresh 'paroxysm of desperation.' As she slowly, but imperfectly recovered her powers, Cowper's spirits were restored to tranquillity, but never entirely rallied. Nearly the whole of his time and attention were now devoted to Mrs. Unwin, whose infirmities gradually increased to a state of helpless imbecility. The depressing influence of the spectacle, and of the anxieties connected with it, upon Cowper's mind, became visible to his friends, and no doubt hastened the approach of the last calamitous attack of nervous disorder from which he never recovered. At the commencement of the year 1794, he was seized with so violent a return of his malady, that for a fortnight he refused food of every kind, except now and then a small piece of toasted bread, dipped in water or wine and water. Dr. Willis was called in; but medical skill was unavailing. In the year 1796, for a few weeks, he exhibited a slight abatement of the engrossing pressure of his distemper; and again, in the summer of 1797, sufficient to enable him to resume his literary tasks. But his shattered frame was no longer able to resist the repeated at-

tacks of disease; and in January, 1800, symptoms appeared which indicated the breaking up of his constitution. He expired on the 25th of April, without a struggle or a groan, but without having exhibited any return of unclouded reason. It would seem that his physical powers were too exhausted to admit of that transient illumination of the faculties which, in cases of derangement, is generally the precursor of death. We cannot forbear to notice, however, the remarks of the Author of the Essays upon this circumstance.

‘ There was one comfort which Cowper’s religious friends securely anticipated to him and themselves—that he would at least exhibit, not merely like Addison, how a Christian, but how a serious Christian could die. It was contrary to all precedent that a converted man should despair to the last. A something was to be wrought, as Cowper expresses it, within the curtains of the dying man, that neither the doctor nor nurse were to understand. This was almost necessary, we believe, to establish the reality of his former call. That the fears of death are commonly dispelled at the near approach of it, except in cases of a heavily-laden conscience, (and not excepting *all*, even of such cases,) and succeeded by a perfect serenity of mind, we are well aware. That such was not the case with Cowper, adds another and most striking proof that, in him, physical despondency was the least part of his sufferings.

‘ Had the calm which spoke peace to the death-bed of Addison and Johnson been possible to the agonized mind of Cowper, we should have had a few minutes of tranquillity, perhaps of religious aspiration, brought forward triumphantly as a proof of the blessed consequences of those opinions which we have shewn to have embittered his life. Had it been so, it would have been a weak support to opinions proved on other grounds to have been erroneous; but it was denied.’

Essays, pp. 29—31.

Our animadversions upon this passage shall be very brief. First, it is utterly untrue, that Cowper’s friends had securely anticipated for him a different exit. They cherished, as long as it was reasonable, the hope of his ultimate recovery; but the nature of his distemper was too well known to them, to allow of their supposing that any thing but death would completely set free his spirit from its bondage. Secondly, that physical despondency really formed *the whole* of his sufferings, must be evident to every person of common sense; and must be admitted by this Writer himself, unless he means to say that Cowper was *not* suffering under distemper; that he was perfectly sane; and that his horrors were those of a heavily-laden conscience under the fangs of remorse. Thirdly, that a converted man should despair *at all*, who has committed no crime to render his character equivocal, and assurance perilous, is so contrary to precedent, and so much at variance with sound reason as enlightened by Scripture, that, in every such case, the presence of physical disease may be sus-

pected; and if labouring under disease to the last, his despairing to the last is not a circumstance to excite surprise. Once more, the experience of the most eminent saints in their dying moments is so various, depending so much on the physical accompaniments of dissolution, that no well-informed Christian would adduce the degree of tranquillity and assurance enjoyed by a person in his last moments, as either a test of the correctness of his opinions, or a proof of the elevation of his piety. In a word, the whole passage upon which we have commented, is a melancholy display of that very rashness and ignorance which are charged upon the holders of evangelical sentiment.

We have dwelt so long upon the nature of Cowper's affecting malady, that we cannot extend this article by adverting to the more pleasing features of the biographical portrait; but must refer our readers for these to Mr. Taylor's volume, which, if not everything that we could wish for in a biography of Cowper, is a very judicious, instructive, and interesting performance. We have elsewhere endeavoured to shew that, rightly viewed, the exemplary character of Cowper's piety, and the beauty of his example, are by no means destroyed, or even diminished, by the hallucination under which he laboured. The influence of religion on his mind was never suspended, even at the time that he religiously forbore to pray. The piety that shines through his despondency, the filial submission with which he utters the mournful complaint, *Why hast thou forsaken me?* indicate that, through all the bewilderment of reason, his heart was singularly right with God. In the depth of his unutterable anguish, "he sinned not, nor charged God foolishly." He does not, indeed, say with Job, "If he slay me, yet will I trust in him"; because the idea which overspread and eclipsed his reason, forbade that exercise of trust. But, wild and irrational as was the supposition, the surrender of soul was not less implicit, the resignation not less real and exemplary, which led him in effect to say, *Though he damn me, yet will I justify him* *. 'There is,' he said, 'a mystery in my destruction, and in time it shall be explained.'

Viewed, indeed, as the experience of a person in the possession of unclouded reason, and having at the same time a distinct knowledge and cordial belief of evangelical truth, we admit, that the case of Cowper would present a dark enigma, a moral contradiction. False views of religion may, it is true, generate despondency; and it is equally true, that despondency may gender false views of religion. Nor is it in every case easy to determine, which is cause and which is effect; the manner in which

* Cowper may be considered as having almost realized, in his insanity, the impossible condition which President Edwards makes the first distinguishing mark of 'gracious affection'.

mind and body reciprocally act upon each other, being often so inscrutable as to baffle the attempt to distinguish between physical and mental causes. Yet, if it be difficult to discriminate between bodily and mental depression, there is a distinct line to be traced between rational and irrational. When a rich man becomes possessed with despondency shaping itself into the fear of want, or under the imagination of actual distress, the obvious nature of his delusion shews at once that his causeless depression is disease. Now where the despondency puts on a religious form, its real nature may be ascertained in like manner, by inquiring into the actual character and circumstances of the sufferer. Where there is palpable illusion, there is disease. False impressions may proceed from ignorance and misapprehension; and such impressions will yield to moral treatment. But if the notions are not merely inaccurate, but illusive,—if the mind is found to have shaped out for itself the ideal object of its desponding apprehensions,—there can be no ground for hesitation in pronouncing the depression to be bodily distemper. There are morbid states of mind which do not rise to that height of nervous disorder that produces hallucination, but which still indicate an unhealthy state of body. There is such a thing as the religious vapours, for which the Pharmacopœia prescribes suitable remedies. But no one who knows what melancholy is, will confound that terrible visitation with any self-inflicted or fantastic complaints.

Of those subjects of what is called religious melancholy or religious madness, who come under medical treatment, the greater part, it is, we believe, undeniable, are such as would previously be termed irreligious persons. The religious anxiety has commenced with the mental aberration, and has disappeared on restoration to health. In such cases, though the apprehension of Divine anger may not seem unreasonable, it is as really an illusion as if the despondency put on the most extravagant form. In fact, where religious anxiety or excitement has had any share in *producing* mental aberration, this will generally put on the form of irreligious profaneness, or something contradictory of the previous state of mind. In Cowper's case, the religious despondency which preceded his becoming religious, seemed to himself, even on the retrospect, not irrational, because it was justified by his real moral condition as an unconverted man. Yet, it evidently originated in distemper, not in the convictions of conscience, and partook essentially of the character of an illusive impression. The religious despondency which attacked him *after* his conversion, was equally the effect of disease, and was shewn to be so by its contradicting his own principles, and by allying itself to an idea perfectly irrational, and which he half suspected, at times, to be an illusion.

But is there no difficulty, it may be asked, connected with the

abandonment of a pious man to such a state of mental darkness and suffering, especially when protracted to the hour of death? No greater difficulty, we conceive, when viewed as the result of physical disease, than in a good man's being suffered to linger under a torturing complaint, or to be laid aside by paralysis, or to be the victim of brutal violence, of persecution, or of fatal accident. We know of no promise that ensures a pious man against insanity, although we believe the physical influence of true religion to be the very best preservative against those exciting causes which are likely to develop a predisposition to mental disease. The history of Job is written to caution us against falling into the errors of his friends in so judging 'by feeble sense.' It is true, that *he* emerged from his complicated and unparalleled afflictions; but, in the case of diseases incurable except by miracle, what reason is there to expect an extraordinary interposition of Divine power, in anticipation of the blessed cure which death will effect, when the spirit 'drops its chains with glad surprise?' If Cowper was permitted to expire in apparent mental darkness, let it not be regarded as either militating against the Divine goodness, or as indicating the Divine displeasure against the sufferer, should any one under similar circumstances be allowed to close his days under the pressure of distemper, and to give no sign in death.

From those who have given no unequivocal sign of conversion to God in life, it may indeed be most anxiously desired, that a parting sign of penitence and faith should be obtained in some brief interval of mental sanity. But neither the truth of religion itself, nor the evidence of the individual's piety, depends upon the circumstances of a death-bed. Besides, the case of Cowper proves that, under a mental eclipse, there may be ample room for the manifestation of character, for the exercise of religious principle, for a discipline strictly probationary. The imagination may be disordered, while the affections preserve their integrity, the conscience its tenderness, the principles their steadiness. Cowper remarked of himself, that 'a convert made in Bedlam is more likely to be a stumbling-block to others, than to advance their faith; but, if it have that effect upon any, it is owing to their reasoning amiss; since he who can ascribe an amendment of life and manners, and a reformation of the heart itself, to madness, is guilty of an absurdity that, in any other case, would fasten the imputation of madness upon himself.' The same remark will apply to the manifestation of religious feelings and principles in a person suffering under mental disease: it may be a stumbling-block, rather than an edifying spectacle, to those who reason superficially. But, to Him who "seeth not as man seeth," the hypochondriac or melancholic sufferer may be exhibiting all the undoubted marks of religious

sincerity, while to others he is as one talking in his sleep. He is, in fact, labouring under a dream, a waking night-mare; and the analogy between the phenomena of sleep and some forms of mental disease, is so remarkably close as to deserve, we think, more attention than it has hitherto received from the pathologist. But this is a subject upon which we must not enter.

There is but one more remark we have to offer upon the case of Cowper; and that is, that, although deprived, by his constitutional infirmity, of religious comfort, he was singularly happy in being supplied with all the alleviations of his trial which he could derive from the tender care, and sympathy, and society of affectionate and accomplished friends, the solace of literary employment and literary fame, the consciousness of doing good, and freedom from pecuniary anxiety: in fact, as he expressed it, he was 'denied no comfort compatible with the total absence of the 'chief of all,'—that of which his distemper deprived him. In the circumstances of his history, it is delightful to trace the marks of a watchful Superintendence infinitely gracious, that made a hedge about him, securing his life against that enemy with whom he was so ill fitted to contend, — that supplied him at all times with the means of an honourable competency,—and when he was menaced with poverty, sent the timely relief of the royal bounty. No, he was never for a moment forsaken by Him in whom, with the grasp of blindness, he trusted,—like a child clinging to its mother in the dark. And there are others besides Cowper, who, when they emerge from the darkness and delusion of distemper, on whichever side of the river it may be, will be able to recognize in their own case, the special kindness of the Providence which watched over them, and tempered all their sufferings. Then also will they receive an answer to the question now so mournfully reiterated, 'Why am I thus?'

We are happy to find that Mr. Taylor's volume, though not long published, has nearly passed through a second edition, and that a third is in preparation for the press. We again commend it to our readers as the most complete memoir of Cowper that has yet appeared, containing a very copious selection from his letters, so as to make the poet to a great extent his own biographer. Mr. Taylor displays much unaffected good sense and modesty, claiming only the merit of a compiler; but biographical compilation is no easy task.

- Art. II. 1. *History of Armenia*, by Father Michael Chamich ; from B. C. 2247 to the Year of Christ, 1780, or 1229 of the Armenian Era. Translated from the original Armenian, by Johannes Avdall, Esq., Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c. To which is appended a Continuation of the History, by the Translator, from the year 1780 to the present date. In two volumes, 8vo. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* Calcutta, Bishop's College Press, 1827.
2. *The History of Vartan, and of the Battle of the Armenians* ; containing an Account of the Religious Wars between the Persians and Armenians ; by Elisæus, Bishop of the Amadunians. Translated from the Armenian by C. F. Neumann, Member of the Armenian Academy of the Mechitaristes at St. Lazaro, and of the Asiatic Society of Paris, &c. 4to, pp. xxiv. 111. London, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1830.
3. *Translations from the Chinese and Armenian*, with Notes and Illustrations, by Charles Fried. Neumann. 8vo. London, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1831.

THE country watered by the Upper Euphrates, between Ararat and Mount Taurus, has been, from time immemorial, the theatre of perpetual war. Situated half way between Rome and Parthia, between Constantinople and Ispahan, it has been subject to the usual fate of border countries. Alternately ravaged by one or other of the contending parties, it has either been crushed by their protection, ruined by their collision, or divided between them on their coalition. In this respect, it resembles Hungary, so long the seat of war between the Ottoman and the chivalry of Christendom. And it is not a little remarkable, that between the Armenian and Hungarian nations, there are said to be points of resemblance or apparent affinity. The two languages present, in their grammatical structure, a similarity which cannot be accidental *. The national name of the Hungarians, *Magiar*, which some writers have supposed to be related to the Persian Magi, and others to the Indian Magadha, might with more plausibility be connected with the Armenian *Mogk* ; while a fanciful resemblance may be observed between these words and the unexplained Magog of the Scriptures.

According to their own traditions, the Armenians are descended from Haik or Haig, the son of Torgomah, or Thorgoma, the grandson of Japheth ; and they call themselves accordingly Haikans. The word *Armen* is supposed to be derived from the

* ' The plural nominatives in k are formed in the two languages in the same manner, and produce the same cacophony ; the terminations of the datives are not unlike ; and the perpetual repetition of the harshest consonants is more grating to the ear in the Hungarian than in the Armenian verb.' *Malte Brun's Geog.* Vol. VI. Part I. p. 350.

name of a son of Haik, called Armenac or Armenag; but no confidence can be placed in such vague traditions. The Persians and Turks call the country Ermenistan. Mr. Neumann thinks that the Armenians are certainly a tribe of the ancient Assyrians.

‘Their language and history speak alike in favour of it. Nearly all the words of Assyrian origin which occur in the Scriptures and in Herodotus, can be explained by the present Armenian language. Their traditions also say, that Haig came from Babylon; and Strabo’s authority would at once settle the question, if he did not affirm too much. The Arabian and the Syriac language, and consequently the people, are radically different from the Armenian. . . . And Strabo is quite wrong when he thinks that both names, (Aramæan and Armenian,) are commonly used to designate one and the same nation.’

Vahram’s Chronicle, Note 14.

The affinity of the Armenian language to the Zend, at least in its vocabulary, is strongly marked. Thus, *kert* or *gerd*, both in Armenian and in Zend, signifies to build: it occurs, in composition, in many names of cities; as Tigranokerd, Darabgerd; answering to the Slavonian *grad* and *gorod*. *Hashd*, prayer, in Armenian, is the Zendish *yeshd*. *Pedt*, head, in composition *bed*, is the Zendish *peted*. *Aderushan*, the place of fire, is also derived from the Zend language. *Ssarataashd*, the name by which Zoroaster is invariably called in the Armenian chronicles, means, in the Zend, according to Anquetil, *Golden Star*. In Mr. Neumann’s notes are given many other instances of affinity between Armenian and Zendish, and Armenian and Pehlavi words; as *weh*, good, Arm. and Peh., in mod. Pers. *beh*. *Shor*, strength, Arm.; in Pehl. *zoure*; Heb. *tsoor* (Tyre). The ancient Armenian names of the months are, apparently, mere variations of the old Persian names. *Mieds*, great, ‘a common ‘by-name of Armenia’, is obviously the origin of Media. ‘This name is given, in the “History of Vartan”, to that part of Armenia which, on the extinction of the Arsacidan dynasty, fell to Persia; comprising the provinces of Ararat, Vasburagan, Sunik, Mogk, Gorshk, Parsgahaik, and part of Duroperan. The Medes, in Armenian, are called *Mark*; and from the ancient Medes are supposed to be descended the great mass of the Koords, who now occupy the southern part of Armenia. Once more, the priests of the fire-worship are called in Armenian, *Mogk*, from a word (*mog*) which, both in Armenian and Chaldean, signifies, we are told, at the present day, *to know*, or *to enchant*. Mr. Neumann seems to doubt, whether in the Persian *Magi* we have the same word. ‘The calling persons so totally different as the ‘enchanters and the Persian priests by the same name, *Magi*, ‘has occasioned’, he remarks, ‘much confusion in the history of ‘the religion and civilization of Western Asia.’ But, although

it may be necessary to distinguish, historically, the priests of the fire-worship from the Babylonian astrologers, it seems clear, that their name has the same etymology; and in fact, our Translator speaks of the chief of the Magi, under the name of *Mogbed* or *Mobed*, i. e. head-magus, or chief priest. (Hist. of Vartan, notes 5 and 34.)

It may, perhaps, be laid down as a general rule, in endeavouring to trace out affinities between nations by the unsteady lights of philology, that similarities of grammatical structure between two languages, afford a presumption in favour of an original affinity of race, how widely soever the vocabularies differ; whereas a similarity between their vocabularies proves only early intercourse; and when words obviously of common origin, vary materially in form in the two languages, it seems to indicate a physical diversity of race. Thus, we should perhaps be warranted in inferring, that at least the civilization of ancient Armenia was Zendish; or rather that the Zend, the very existence of which, as a spoken language, has been deemed problematical*, was the ancient language of Assyria and Armenia; forming the link, possibly, between the Aramæan and the Sanscrit families. But if it be true that the Hungarian and the Armenian resemble each other in grammatical structure, but have no resemblance in their vocabularies, we should infer an original connection between the two nations, but an early separation, as in the case of the Celtic and the Indian families.

The ancient history of Armenia is about as authentic as, in the absence of either documents or monuments, history can be. Father Chamich, with a translation of whose abridged work the learned of Europe and India are here presented, may be said fairly to begin at the beginning, since his first part contains an account of the foundation of the first post-diluvian monarchy by the great-grandson of Japhet, about A.M. 2853, and brings down the history to Alexander the Great. The learned Author was an Armenian by nation, born at Constantinople, who, having attached himself to the Romish Church, became a member of the Society of San Lazaro at Venice. In 1786, he published the first edition of his History in three large quarto volumes, of about 1000 pages each. It is compiled, we are told, not only from the records of various Armenian authors, the earliest of whom, un-

* Col. Vans Kennedy, with all the credulity of scepticism, doubts whether either Zend or Pehlavi was ever spoken. The former 'pretended language', he thinks, 'was invented by the Parsi priests, and 'was never actually spoken or written by any people upon the face of 'the earth.' And his remarks, he says, apply with even greater force to the Pehlavi! *Researches into the Origin of Languages*, p. 173.

fortunately flourished in the fourth century, but also from those Greek and Roman authors who have noticed events connected with Armenia, from Xenophon down to Socrates and Procopius. The chief native authority is, of course, the famous Moses Choronensis, who flourished in the fifth century, and who wrote a History of Armenia, commencing with Haik, and brought down to the termination of the pontifical power in the house of St. Gregory the Illuminator, A.D. 440. The first part of his History is stated to be 'founded on information derived from records of events which happened before the reign of Alexander the Great, according to the testimony of Maribas, the famous Syrian historian, who discovered these documents.'

'A correct account of the ancient Armenian kings till the time of Volarsaces, is recorded in the history of the latter, of which Choronensis avails himself by abundant quotations. From this period to the third century, the facts narrated in the history are collected from different sources, principally from historians who wrote accounts of their own times. Choronensis makes ample quotations from Africanus, an eminent historian on whom Eusebius bestows great praise in his ecclesiastical history. The latter part of the History is composed from different records extant in our nation, written in Greek and Persian characters under the various Armenian chiefs.'

Avdall's Preface, p. xxvii.

Gibbon has availed himself of the account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia, contained in the third book of Moses of Chorene, as translated into Latin by William and George Whiston. He thus characterizes the original. 'Deficient as he (Moses) is in every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices, are strongly expressive of a native and contemporary. Procopius relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.* Mr. Neumann, in his Preface to the "History of Vartan", remarks, that the history of the Parthian kingdom can be elucidated only from Armenian sources. By a mere translation of Moses of Chorene, however, he adds, little help is afforded. 'He, more than any author, required a detailed geographical, historical, and critical elucidation; and Gibbon had sufficient ground for complaint, when saying that, with these confusing sketches, he could come at nothing clear.'

The absence of any such illustration in Mr. Avdall's translation of Father Chamich's History, will be felt as materially lessening the value of his labours. The first Part, which professes to

* Rise and Fall, &c., Ch. xxxii.

give, within the compass of forty pages, the history of 1800 years, consists of little more than a tissue of obscure and sometimes absurd legends, narrated with all the gravity of implicit belief. Thus, we have a minute account of the overthrow of the tyrant Belus at the age of 300 years, by the valorous Haicus, whom Vardan styles 'the first champion of religion, for having refused to pay adoration to the statue of Belus, and for killing the latter as the first introducer of idolatry among mankind'! And the testimony of Maribas is cited as the authority for a personal description of this proto-champion, who is supposed to have lived to the age, 'probably,' of 500 years. Haicus was succeeded in his authority by his son Armenac, who reigned for ninety-six years, and had, 'it is said', twelve brothers named after the months of the year, and twenty-four sisters named after the hours of the day!! His son, Aramais, who succeeded him, reigned, some say forty, some say ninety years: in such cases, fifty years are of no consequence. He is stated to have changed the name of the river Gihon, to Arax, after his son, Arast! But the first monarch who 'raised the Armenian name to any degree of renown', was his great-grandson, Aram, who became so famous, that, says Father Chamich,

'contemporary nations, in making mention of the actions performed by his subjects under his personal direction, called them the deeds of the Aramians, a name which has been corrupted into Armenians: and the country they inhabited, by universal consent, took the name of Armenia. This is the origin of the denomination which now distinguishes our country among foreigners; and the more ancient one of Haics, which is similar, and indeed is the juster of the two, has sunk into disuse.'

Something is to be learned from all this; namely, that nothing survives, in the shape of authentic traditional record, of this part of the early history of Armenia, which is mere fable; and that, moreover, of the etymology of the name of the country, and of other geographical appellations, Father Chamich and his authorities were profoundly ignorant. In the first syllable of Armenia, we seem to have a word common to many languages, with a slight modification, in the sense of land, earth, or field. *Ar* has this sense in the Celtic dialects. The Latin *ager* is probably the same word, as the Greek *ἀρόω*, to plough, (whence *ἀρούρα*, *arvum*,) may plausibly be derived from the same root. The Hebrew and Chaldean *aretz*, *areg*, *arach*, the Arabic *ardhi* or *ardu*, the Pahlavi *arta* or *arda*, (whence *Arta-Xerxes*, or *Arda-kshshe-thro*, i. e., lord of the earth, answering to the Persian *Gil-Shah*,) all seem related to the same word. It is remarkable that, in Sanscrit, *arāmā* signifies a garden; which is likely enough to be the real meaning of the Hebrew *Aram* or *Aramea*, Syria. *Irak* is

perhaps another form of Arak or Arach, the plains. Ararat (by the Armenians written Airarad) is evidently a compound, and may mean the high country; since *ard* or *art*, (in Sanscrit *urddha*,) signifies in many languages, high or lofty. It has this meaning in Celtic; and the Greeks gave it this interpretation in the composition of Persian names; as Artabanus, Artaphernes, &c.* Ararat is still the name of the province of Armenia situated between the Araxes and the lakes Van and Ourmia; which is probably the country referred to Isa. xxxvii. 38. and Jer. li. 27, as well as Gen. viii. 4. The kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, evidently bordered upon Assyria and Media; and in the second of these names, we have a word closely resembling Armenia; as the Syriac and Chaldaic versions have indeed rendered it. Josephus also speaks of a district of a similar name in Armenia, in the following citation from a more ancient writer. ‘“There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas (*Μινυας*), called *Baris*, upon which, it is reported, that many who fled at the time of the Deluge were saved, and that one who was carried in an ark, came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, wrote.”’† The word *Min-nith* occurs Ezek. xxvii. 17, where it is rendered by the Sept., fine wheat. Bochart would make the word *Muni* signify the moon. Whatever be its meaning, we may almost venture to derive Armenia from *Ar-Minni*, the country of Minni, or Minniland. Ashk-anaz has certainly a very Armenian sound; but we will resist the temptation to guess at its etymology. We have no doubt that, in common with the others, it is a descriptive word, most of the ancient proper names being primarily descriptive of territory. Haik is, probably, a word of this kind, and the existence of such a *person* is very problematical.

In the third chapter of his history, Father Chamich introduces us to a personage whose historical existence we are not permitted to doubt, although it is difficult to detach the fact from the fabulous embellishments. This is no other than Semiramis, the widow of Ninus. This Assyrian queen, according to the present Writer, who appears to follow Moses of Chorene, having heard of the personal beauty of Arah, king of Armenia, sent him an offer of her hand and crown, which was most ungallantly refused. This led to a war, in which Arah was slain, to the great grief of

* See Gesenius's Lex. Herodotus renders Artaxerxes, *μέγας ἀρχός*. But the Greeks were bad etymologists, and we question the word's having ever had this signification in Persian, in which it is now confessedly lost. But it still exists in the Celtic dialects.

† Joseph. Antiq., B. I. c. 1. § 6.

the female conqueror, who had wished to take him alive. Semiramis then placed his young son, Cardus, a youth of twelve years of age, on the throne of his father, directing him to assume the name of Arah. The historian goes on to say :

‘The Assyrian queen was so pleased with the salubrity of the air, and the fertility and picturesque nature of the country, that she left a splendid mark of her munificence in it, on her returning to Assyria, having built a magnificent city on the shores of the sea of Akhthamar. Twelve thousand workmen, and six hundred architects, were employed in the erection of the buildings in this city. It became, thenceforward, the summer residence of Semiramis, and was afterwards known by the name of Van.....

‘Some few years after this event, Ninyas*, the son of Semiramis, rebelled against his mother, and having formed a party vastly superior to what was attached to the queen, she was obliged to flee and take refuge in Armenia. Here she was received by Cardus with all the friendship he could demonstrate; and raising an army, he marched with her at the head of it to reduce her rebellious son. A battle ensued, in which Semiramis and her gallant ally, Cardus, were defeated and slain.....Anushavan, (the son of Cardus,) on the defeat and death of his father, fell into the hands of the victor, Ninyas, who retained him captive in his palace. At the time of this unfortunate event, Anushavan was but fourteen years of age. When he attained maturity, some of the Assyrian nobles interceded on his behalf with Ninyas, and procured his release and restoration to a part of his hereditary dominions, on condition that he should pay homage for them to the Assyrians.’ Vol. I. pp. 23—25.

This story, in its general outline, so far agrees with the account given by the Greek historians, that it may be suspected of having been borrowed from them. It is certain, however, that the name of the Assyrian Queen is still preserved, not merely in Armenian traditions, but in connexion with existing monuments. The city of Van is still known under the name of *Shamiramakert*, the city of Semiramis. According to Persian writers, Tamerlane, towards the close of the fourteenth century, endeavoured to destroy the ancient monuments of Van, but their solidity and extent foiled the utmost endeavours of his soldiers. Moses of Chorene gives a long account of the foundation of this city, after Maribas Catina, the Syrian historian, who flourished B. C. 140. Semiramis is related to have begun the work by raising an immense esplanade or platform, composed of enormous masses of rock, united by a cement of lime and sand. This construction was so solid, that it remained still entire in the time of the Armenian historian. It had not been found practicable to detach from it a single stone, owing to the tenacity of the cement; and

* The similarity of this name to Minyas is remarkable: it is probably the same word.

the stones, he says, were so well polished and so smooth, that they had lost none of their splendour. This terrace extended for the space of several *stadia*; and under it were some spacious caverns, which, in the time of Moses of Chorene, afforded a place of refuge to the brigands of the country. These caverns appear, from his description, to have been originally intended as subterranean entrances to the fortified palace erected by Semiramis upon this platform, which recalls the works of the great Jemsheed at Persepolis. The Historian, after describing the various temples, vast apartments, and subterranean treasuries, adds, that the numerous inscriptions in themselves formed an object of admiration, as, in order to trace them, it would seem that they must have known the art of rendering the stones as soft as wax. This romantic description accords with the notices contained in more modern Armenian writers respecting the ancient monuments found near Van. In an Armenian work on Geography, composed by Father Luke Indjidjan, and printed at Venice in 1806, occurs the following passage, for which we are indebted to a French translation by M. Saint-Martin.

‘ To the north of the city, in a straight line, is a very high mountain of stone, the summit of which is above gun-shot; it is there that was excavated and founded the impregnable castle of Van, the work of Semiramis. This mountain is composed of a hard stone of a particular species: it extends from west to east for the distance of an hour’s journey. The foot of the mountain, on the south, is contiguous to the city walls; there is situated the suburb. This wall and the castle are half an hour’s distance from the lake. The exterior side of this mountain, that is to say, that which is to the north of the plain, is a very steep elevation, filled with enormous rocks: the walls have been repeatedly destroyed and reconstructed.

‘ In the interior of this rock are found, in five or six places, immense caverns, hollowed out by the ancients: the entrances are turned towards the city side or the south. Other caverns are to be seen on the northern side of the mountain. They are now quite abandoned. These are the excavations, the caverns, the vaults, of which Moses of Chorene speaks.

‘ On the southern side is seen an opening cut with the greatest labour in the hardest marble, leading to a very beautiful apartment, the ceiling of which is in the form of a vault: on the whole length of the opening are found inscriptions in a character unknown to the inhabitants. This entrance leads into the centre or heart of the mountain. The inhabitants find it very difficult to reach it with ladders, either from above by the citadel, or from below by the city. On the north side are found, in like manner, towards the bottom of the mountain, three openings, which also lead to apartments with ceilings in the form of a vault, and on the doors of which are in like manner seen inscriptions in the same unknown characters. These are, probably, the inscriptions in ancient letters, cut by order of Queen Semiramis, to

which Moses of Chorene refers. Upon both the northern and southern sides of this mountain of stone are sculptured, in several places, little crosses and human figures. Not long ago, in digging in the interior of the city, a stone statue was found, representing a man on horseback.

‘ This mountain and its fortress are without water ; but in time of peace, there exists an easy way by which you may ascend the mountain on the western side, near the gate *Iskele Kapousi* : by this way, water is carried to those who reside in the castle. In that direction is found a spring of excellent water, which flows into the lake. Near this stream are seen three immense blocks of marble, which are abandoned ; and near them, a ruined tower ; but in the plain is found another source of good water.’ *

Diodorus Siculus describes some magnificent monuments erected by Semiramis in Media, under which name this part of Armenia, now the Turkish pashalik of Van, is often included or confounded. It is, therefore, as M. Saint-Martin suggests, very possible, that some of the monuments which he mentions, are the same as those described by Moses of Chorene. Strabo also speaks of immense walls executed by Semiramis, and of vast artificial hills which she caused to be erected in several places of Asia Minor and Armenia. An Arabian writer, (Masoudy,) who flourished about the middle of the tenth century, also refers to the conquests and works of Semiramis ; borrowing his details, apparently, from Greek and Syrian writers now unknown to us. The celebrity of this Queen has perpetuated itself to the present day, in these same regions, not only among the Armenian population, but even among the Kourds, who, as well as the Armenian natives, give the name of the water (or stream) of Semiramis (*Shamiramai-dchour*, or *Shamiramai-ahrou*) to a considerable stream which falls into Lake Van at a short distance to the S. W. of that city. The Turks call it *Shamiram-su*, which has the same meaning.

In the year 1826, M. Schulz, professor in the University of Giessen, undertook a journey of literary discovery in Asiatic Turkey and Persia, under the auspices of Baron Damas, then minister for foreign affairs at Paris. In a letter from Constantinople, dated March 1828, inserted in the same Journal from which we have taken these particulars, he gives the following account of the results of his visit to Van.

‘ I arrived at Van on the 24th of July, and was received in the most friendly manner by the Pasha, to whom I had letters of strong recommendation from the Pasha-seraskier of Erzeroum. You will probably learn with pleasure, that the expectation which we entertained of discovering some monuments of Semiramis on the borders of Lake Van,

* *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Tome ii. pp. 168—170.

has not been disappointed. The great number of inscriptions in the cuneiform character which I have discovered at Van and in its environs, and of which I have this day transmitted a copy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, will prove to you the important part which the castle of Van and the surrounding district must have borne in the history of the ancient Assyrian monarchy. The system of cuneiform writing, on all these monuments, is entirely different from that which is presented to us in the trilingual Persian inscriptions, and from that of the Babylonian bricks. Among the forty-two inscriptions which I send to Paris, you will find but a single one which belongs to the systems known in Europe. It is modern, if it is allowable so to call an inscription in the Zend, Assyrian, and Median languages, cut in the rock of the citadel of Van, by order of *Khshéarsha*, son of *Daréioush* (Xerxes, son of Darius). I took great pains to bring away each character with the greatest exactness. It required many fortunate circumstances to enable me to bring away all; and it will probably be a long time before we meet in Koordistan with an Isaak Pasha, whose perfect confidence and friendship have permitted me to penetrate to places to which, under other circumstances, it would have been impossible for me to gain access. In returning to Erzeroom, I followed the borders of the lake by Awanz, Berghiri, and Ardjish, where the famous Serpent-rock (*Ilantach*) afforded me two inscriptions of the same description as those of Van. Thence I repaired, by Norshin and Tashkent, to Melezgerd and Daher, to obtain, near that Kourdish village, a copy of a magnificent inscription of thirty-seven lines, in as excellent preservation as if written only yesterday.*

But do these inscriptions, and the monuments upon which they are found, really belong to so remote a date? Upon this point, M. Saint Martin in this paper candidly avows the doubt he entertains. He had not been able to ascertain that the name of Semiramis occurred in them. He thinks, however, that the trilingual description referring to Xerxes, the son of Darius, is the most modern of these inscriptions, and that the others are in Assyrian, and belong to the most ancient eras of history. At all events, the terrace would seem to be fairly attributable to the Assyrian Queen†; and the fact of her having conquered Armenia,

* *N. Journ. Asiatique*, t. ii. pp. 175—177. M. Schulz proposed to explore, the following summer, the borders of Lake Ourmiah, and to penetrate to Persian Kourdistan. We know not whether his further researches and more detailed memoirs have yet been made public.

† Herodotus briefly mentions this queen as having ‘raised an embankment worthy of admiration through the plain of the Euphrates, to confine the river, which heretofore often spread over the level like a lake.’ Taylor’s Herodotus, p. 87. The principal works at Babylon, however, he ascribes to Queen Nitocris, to whom he assigns the palm of intelligence, although the former is the favourite of tradition. Possibly, the embankment referred to was that on the shores of Lake Van; and the old Grecian may have confounded the two stories.

which is not mentioned by any extant classic historian, may be considered as established by the traditions exclusively preserved by Armenian writers.

To return to Father Chamich. On the death of Anushavan, who died without issue, the crown of Armenia is stated to have fallen to a warlike prince named Paret, the contemporary of the Hebrew patriarch Joseph. To him succeeded Asbak, Zavan, and Pharnak; the latter of whom was conquered, but restored to his kingdom, by Sesostris, king of Egypt.

‘After the departure of the latter from Armenia, Pharnak built a number of fortresses in his dominions, to protect himself against future invasions. At this period, the children of Israel quitted Egypt. On the death of Pharnak, Soor became the king of Armenia. He proved a great and successful warrior, and was the idol of his subjects. During his reign, the children of Israel took possession of Canaan as the land of promise. Many of the aborigines of that country took refuge in Armenia, under the conduct of a leader named Canaanidas; a man, as the records state, of immense riches. From him the Canaanidians, otherwise the Gunthunians, who are well known in the annals of our history, are descended.’ Vol. I. p. 27.

Then follow notices of the reigns of Havanak, alias Hunak, Vashtak, Haykak I., who subdued Amindes, king of Assyria, and made him his tributary, but was defeated and slain by Belok, the son of Amindes;—Ambak I., Arnak, Shavarsh I., Norayr, Vistam, Car, Gorak, and Hiran I., in whose reign, ‘Buz, the ‘son of Neptune, founded the city of Byzantium’! To Hiran succeeded Unzak, Gilak, Horo, and the illustrious Zarmayr, who, being an ally of the Trojans, went to the famous siege of their city, and fell in an encounter with Achilles, in the twelfth year of his reign, and in the year of the world 2818, or, according to the Septuagint, 4017. Chronologists will be infinitely indebted to Father Chamich for this invaluable piece of information. With regard to the long line of princes with names ending in *ak*, (recalling the Anak and Shishak of the Old Testament,) if they rest upon any veritable record, we may conclude, that at least the termination is honorific, implying lord or ruler, and that they belonged to the same dynasty of kings or viceroys. An interregnum is stated to have ensued upon the death of Zarmayr; and then follow some more rulers with names ending in *ak*; till at length we come to Paroyr, who joined with Arbaces, prince of the Medes, and Belesis, surnamed Nabonazar, prince of Babylon, in a conspiracy against Sardanapalus, the Assyrian emperor. Up to this time, it is admitted that the Armenian kings had never been crowned: in other words, they were but governors appointed by the Assyrian monarch, or tributary princes. But, on the expulsion of Sardanapalus, Arbaces, agreeably to his promise to his two allies, solemnly crowned them kings of their respective

countries; no doubt on the condition of their transferring their homage from Assyria to Media. It may be worth while to transcribe the following paragraph, although it is impossible to read such narratives without a constant suspicion of their apocryphal character.

‘ Assyria, by the succession of various events, was, after the expulsion of Sardanapalus, at first governed by Tiglath-pileser; then by his son Shalmanazar, who conquered Samaria. Sennacherib, the son and successor of the latter, in an expedition against the Jews, then governed by king Hezekiah, lost the whole of his army by the sword of the avenging angel. On his return to Nineveh, he was plunged into the bitterest grief by the reflection of the late defeat and destruction of his soldiers; and superstitiously conceiving that the anger of the gods he worshipped was kindled against him, he meditated endeavouring to appease them by the sacrifice of his sons Adramelech and Sharezer on the altar of the idol Nisroch. The two intended victims, however, got timely information of the cruel designs of their unnatural father, and seizing their opportunity, killed Sennacherib in the temple of Nisroch. They then took refuge in Armenia, where they were kindly received by king Paroyr, who allotted them portions of land for their maintenance. To Sharezer he gave a territory in the southwestern part of Armenia, bordering on Assyria. The Sanasoons or Sasoons, a numerous and valiant race, who principally inhabited Mount Sion, claim Sharezer for their ancestor. The king gave Adramelech a country to the south-east of that of his brother Sharezer. From Adramelech are descended the great tribes of the Arzrunians and Gnunians. The posterity of these two Assyrian princes, in the course of a few ages, became so numerous, that they established an independent kingdom in the country in which their ancestors had first settled, calling it Vaspurakan, and themselves Vaspurakanians.’

Vol. I. pp. 33, 4.

To Paroyr succeeded Hirachay, Pharnavaz II., Pachoych, Cornak, Pharos, Haykak II. The latter

‘ joined Nebuchadnezzar the Great, king of Babylon, in his expedition against the Jews; and on the latter being led into captivity, Haykak took one of their chiefs, named Shambat, together with all his family, and brought him into Armenia. From Shambat are descended the great family of the Bagratians, who afterwards possessed the throne of Armenia, and who derived their name from the illustrious Bagarat, who shed such a lustre on the reign of Valarsaces. Many of the most distinguished of this race were called Sumbat, after their original ancestor; and a few took the name of Ashot, in memory of Asood, the son of this Jewish chief.’ Vol. I. pp. 35, 6.

Haykak II. was succeeded by his son Erwand; whose successor, Tigranes, is represented as having joined Cyrus, king of Persia, and Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in an alliance against Ahasuerus, king of Media. From this may be inferred, if we may attach credence to this part of Armenian history, that the

country had become tributary to Media, and that Tigranes was a Median viceroy who raised the standard of rebellion against his liege. We have a somewhat romantic story of the Median emperor's having solicited the hand of Tigrana, the sister of Tigranes, in marriage, with a view to get the brother into his power. Tigrana accordingly became queen of queens; but, retaining her affection for her brother, she betrayed to him the insidious designs of her husband, and at length escaped to the allied armies, who were advancing to the frontiers.

‘Ahasuerus made a faint attempt to protect his dominions; but he was defeated, and fell by the hand of Tigranes, who killed him by a thrust of his spear. A vast number of Medes fell in the action, and 10,000 were made prisoners, among whom were the whole of the women belonging to the king. The country then submitted to the victors, and Cyrus added it, by the consent of Tigranes, to his own dominions. The latter returned to Armenia loaded with booty, and attended by a vast number of captives. In gratitude to his sister, he gave her the city of Tigranakert, which he had lately built, with a large extent of country in its environs. The women of Ahasuerus, with the remainder of the captives, he settled near Nackjuan and along the banks of the river Arax.

‘The descendants of these women, proceeding from the king of Media, were thenceforward called the offspring of Ajdahak or the Dragon, in allusion to the name of Ahasuerus, which, in the Armenian language, signifies a dragon. At this period, Cyrus, accompanied by Tigranes, effected the conquest of Lydia, which was then in the possession of Cræsus, but was now added to the large empire of the former. Shortly after, the two monarchs besieged and took the city of Babylon, which was given to Darius, the uncle of Cyrus, who thenceforward governed it under the title of king. All the Christian nations are in possession of authentic accounts of Tigranes being associated with Cyrus in his conquest of Babylon; for the prophet Jeremiah exclaims, “Set ye up a standard in the land; blow the trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations against her (Babylon); call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz; appoint a captain against her; cause the horses to come up, as the rough caterpillars.” See Chap. 51, verse 27, &c. It is evident, by the chronology of the Jews and Armenians, that, at the capture of Babylon, Tigranes was king of Ararat. After a glorious reign of 45 years, in which his glory had eclipsed that of all his predecessors, Tigranes died, to the great regret of all the nation, leaving three sons, born of his queen Zarina, viz. Bab, Tiran, and Vahagn. The great conqueror Cyrus died five years before his ally Tigranes.

‘Vahagn, although the youngest son of the late monarch, took possession of the throne at the decease of his father; his two elder brothers being of a less warlike disposition, quietly relinquishing their claims. This prince proved a virtuous and magnanimous character. His personal strength and courage were so great, that he was usually called by his subjects Hercules the Second. He performed many gallant exploits, and became so renowned that songs in his praise were

composed and sung by the Armenians and Georgians ; wherein, amongst a variety of other valiant actions, he was said to have fought and conquered dragons. This alluded, no doubt, to his wars with the Medes, the descendants of Ahasuerus, who, as we have related, were called the Dragons. These songs were current in Armenia even in the days of the most flourishing state of Christianity in that country. Vahagn died after a brilliant reign of 27 years. A statue of this monarch was erected in Georgia by the inhabitants of that country, in commemoration of his many great qualities ; and according to the pagan custom in those days, divine honours were paid him ; sacrifices being offered to the statue. From this prince the tribe of Vahunians are descended, many of whom afterwards officiated as priests in temples which they had erected to their ancestor, who, as we before stated, had been deified.' Vol. I. pp. 40—44.

The Ahasuerus of the above story is of course the Astyages of Herodotus, whose account of Cyrus is the most unsatisfactory and confused portion of his history. The ' Father of History ' seems to have been himself bewildered by the conflicting accounts he obtained of this extraordinary personage, the hero of Xenophon and the restorer of Jerusalem. Sir John Malcolm has taken great pains * to harmonize the accounts given in the Persian annals, of Kai Khosrou, who is apparently the Cyrus of Herodotus, with the intimations in the Hebrew Scriptures relative to Koreish (as his name is there written), and the other notices contained in authentic history ; but with very imperfect success. The irreconcilable discrepancy which occurs in the accounts of this hero, furnished by the western and oriental writers, compel us to suppose that different individuals have been confounded under the same name, which was probably titular. It is remarkable, that both Herodotus and the Armenian historians represent the Median sovereign as being forewarned in dreams of the overthrow of his power, although the stories differ widely in the details. The account given in the present History is, that Ahasuerus beheld a mountain in labour, from which issued, not a mouse, but three armed warriors ; one mounted on the back of a lion, which he guided towards the west, the second riding on a leopard, which took a northerly direction, the third, the most terrible of the three, on a dragon, who turned towards Media. This third was explained by his wise men to mean Tigranes, the other two being Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar. Some vague tradition must have been the foundation of the varying legends. *Ajdahak*, which, we are told, signifies a dragon, is evidently the Zohauk of the Persian writers, as it is apparently the Astyages of Herodotus. Ahasuerus was a common titular appellation of the

* See Hist. of Persia, Vol. I. pp. 220—233.

Persian monarchs, and is rendered by Gesenius, 'excellent prince', or 'hero'. M. Saint Martin reads, in an inscription brought from Van, *khshaéhiè-îéré*, which he renders, *roi brave*.

Vahagn is stated to have been succeeded by his son, Aravan; then follow the names of Nerseh, Zareh, Armog, Baygam, Van, (who is said to have rebuilt the city of Semiramis, and changed its name to Van,) and Vahey, the last of the dynasty. Being the ally (probably the tributary) of Darius, the Persian king, he joined him in resisting the invincible arms of the Macedonian conqueror, and perished. 'The whole of Armenia fell into the hands of Alexander, and from this period, royalty was unknown in Armenia until the rise of the Arsacidæ.'

Having traced the imperfect and obscure annals of Armenia to the dawn of authentic history, we here pause to offer a few general observations. And in the first place, we may remark that this history tends to confirm a rational scepticism as to the existence, in early times, of any extensive consolidated empires. A delusion is practised upon the imagination, by applying to ancient kingdoms, which were limited to a province, the comprehensive names of modern geography. There was no such country in ancient geography, as Armenia, or Persia, or India. With regard to the first, we learn from the only authentic source of information relative to those early times, that Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz still formed, about B.C. 600, three separate kingdoms; that the Medes also had their several kings, and captains, and rulers; that Babylon, one of the greatest and most powerful kingdoms, was limited to Chaldea, not including Assyria, which had also its king. In fact, the axiom laid down by a high authority seems the key to ancient history; that there were as many kings as cities, every capital city constituting in fact a kingdom; to which we may add, that every such city must have owed its formation to its position in the line of commerce. The first city that we read of is ascribed to the 'mighty hunter,' or plunderer, Nimrod, the 'beginning of whose kingdom' was Babylon, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, all in the plain of Shinar or Mesopotamia, and commanding, therefore, the commerce of the Euphrates; out of which land, he is represented as going into Assyria, and building Nineveh, and Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, situated between Calah and Nineveh*. All these cities, if built by the same enterprising 'rebel,' may have been originally fortified stations, by means of which he secured the plunder exacted in the shape of toll or tribute upon the merchants. These would of necessity be halting-places, and would soon be made places of rendezvous and permanent residence. No sooner, however, did

* Gen. x. 9. marg. reading, and Boothroyd.

they grow considerable, than they became the seat of rival communities; and Babylon and Nineveh at a very early period rose into hostile states. The inferior cities in their neighbourhood, under their respective chieftains, would require and purchase, by tribute or homage, the protection of the more powerful ones; and those which were united by a common language, or religion, would naturally form a national league. Such, there is every reason to believe, was the origin of the territorial kingdoms of antiquity. But besides these, there were sovereignties or lordships of a very distinct origin and character, among the nomadic and equestrian tribes; between whom and the dwellers in cities, there seem to have existed in all ages a perpetual antipathy and hereditary feud. These kings of the mountain, or of the plain, or of the desert, were sovereigns of a tribe or a nation, not of a kingdom, having often neither definite country nor capital.

Ancient history, then, is either the history of nations or of municipal communities; not of countries or of empires. At least, the only empires were either confederacies of kingdoms under a 'king of kings,'—the most powerful sovereign of his day, or the meteoric dominion of a foreign conqueror. The only permanent trace of such conquests is found in a new city, often raised upon the site of a ruined one, but sometimes on a new and advantageous route. Thus, it is at once the most important and the most honourable information that is transmitted to us concerning the kings and conquerors of those remote days, that they built such and such a city. Of Semiramis, for instance, this historical fact alone attests the existence and the success, that she built the city of Van, where probably no city had before stood, and thus created a new focus of population and wealth.

At no period, probably, was Armenia comprised under one empire. The centre of the original population of the post-diluvian world, its physical geography in a manner compelled the increasing families to diverge in the opposite directions in which its waters seek the basins of the Euxine, the Caspian, the Persian Gulf, and, but for the great bulwark of Taurus, the Mediterranean. The cities and territories of Van, Erivan, Erzeroom, Kars, and Diarbekir, or the more ancient cities they represent, must always have been politically disconnected, from their local position, standing on different routes, and open to invasion from different powers. It is probable, therefore, that Assyria, to which Armenia Proper may be considered as belonging, Media, Syria, and Capadocia, in the earliest times, shared the dominion or allegiance of what we now call Armenia; just as it is now subdivided between the Ottomans, the Persians, the Russians, and the Koords. It was, as we shall see hereafter, by sharing in the *western* civilization, that this country became the seat of any thing deserving the name of literature. The first light that shone upon it, proceeded from

Athens; and the chief seat of the Armenian greatness has been on the European side of the Euphrates, in Cappadocia and Cilicia. The existing cultivation and literature of Armenia are exclusively Christian; and 'but very rarely the faded lustre of a former civilization is seen, gleaming from ages long since past away.' The following judicious observations, taken from Mr. Neumann's valuable preface to his translation of the "*History of Vartan*," will serve to confirm the preceding observations, while they throw a new light upon Armenian history. With these, we shall conclude the present article, intending to resume the subject on a future occasion.

'The Parthians, it is well known, cherished a strong predilection for Grecian manners and learning: hence, during their dynasty, it was the custom to visit the schools of Athens and other Greek cities, in the same manner that, towards the close of the middle ages, men from all parts of Europe repaired to Italy and Paris, to perfect themselves in the sciences. Gregory the Enlightener, in the panegyrick of Barsh Ardsanagan, which is ascribed to him, and is still extant, says that he became acquainted with this saint at Athens, where at that time many of the Armenian youth were studying. The Armenian youth, studying at Athens, had their own principal; who, in the time of the Emperor Julian, was the celebrated orator Proæresius, a native Armenian. Sahag and Mesrob sent their most talented pupils to Greece, "to the mother and nurse of all knowledge," to use an expression of Moses of Khorene. In so doing, however, they had by no means a purely scientific object, but were most anxious to form good translators from the Greek, who might translate the holy scriptures, (which had first been done from Syriac into Armenian,) and the Greek Fathers into their native language. But the disciples of Mesrob were not content with mere translations: they all, more or less, became authors; and with them, strictly speaking, *the first epoch* of the Christian literature of Armenia begins. From the return of the disciples of Sahag the great, and Mesrob from Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Edessa, about 434, and the composition of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrob, about 406, may be dated the most ancient epoch of Armenian literature.'

'While the spiritual strength of the Armenian nation, and with it the Christian belief, continued progressively strengthening itself, their political power declined to a mere shadow of what it had been. The branch of the Arsacides, which after the fall of the Parthian Shahinshah (226, A. C.) had ruled in Armenia, owed its brief and troubled existence solely to the reciprocal enmity and jealousy of the Byzantine Greek and Persico-Sassanide kingdoms. But the Armenian kings knew not, like the House of Savoy, in modern history, how to profit by this state of things. At the court of the feeble, and, both physically and morally, degraded successors of the Arsacides, who had once contended with Rome, now Greece and now Persia obtained preponderating influence, without, however, any increase or security of dominion, according to the Khosros and Artashirs. No less censurable

was the conduct of the Byzantine court. Without reference to the duty owed by Byzantium to a neighbouring Christian state, her own advantage required that she should support the independence of the Armenian kingdom and strengthen its power; for, was not Armenia the strongest bulwark against all attempts at conquest on the part of the Sassanides? But of this the emperors and their councillors appear not to have thought: they applied themselves to the crushing of heresies in their kingdom, and spent their time in gravely deliberating in council, about the ridiculous dreamings of half-crazy anchorites. Who can peruse without indignation and scorn, the account of the proceeding of the Byzantine court, as given in the following work of Elisæus? Thus it came to pass, that after its nominal kings had long sunk into mere deputies of Sapor and Yasgerd, Armenia at last, in 428 of our era, ceased to retain even the name of a nation. A small part, Upper, or Lesser Armenia, fell to the share of Byzantium; while the far larger and more important provinces of Lower; or Greater Armenia, were joined to the kingdom of the Sassanides.

‘ In the Western Asiatic kingdoms we may remark, at one time, an exclusively Oriental tendency; at another, one favourable to Grecian views. The old Persian dynasties, however, appear to have been in a close and confidential political alliance with India, and to have decidedly opposed Western influence and the introduction of Grecian manners into their empire. A change took place with the conquest of Alexander the Great, and with the dynasties arising out of the ruins of his kingdom. Not to mention the original Greek ruling families in Syria and Bactria, even the Scythian Parthians were favourable to Greek customs and literature. With the house of Sassan, however, a re-action begins against the Western principle: the ancient Persian civilization, which had long been in part suppressed, and in part had declined, arose again with renewed energy, and was of necessity opposed with all its force to the new doctrine of Christianity, coming as it did from the West and from Greece. Two churches, those of Christ and of Zoroaster, stand in mutual enmity, threatening each other's destruction; and between them a war, partly open, partly secret, is carried on. The history of the machinations and battles which took place during a short period, are described in the following work of Elisæus, a contemporary of the circumstances related by him.

‘ The history of this religious war has been given by several Syrian and Armenian writers: and among the Greek authors also, sacred and profane, some fragments and unconnected accounts are to be met with on this subject. But the Armenians possess historical writers who have almost exclusively occupied themselves with the narration of this struggle, so highly interesting, as regards the religious history of mankind.’ pp. x—xiii.

‘ It is worthy of remark, that throughout the middle ages, the province of Sunik was a principal seat of Armenian literature and science, and John Bluss, of the city Erissa or Essenga, of the canton of the same name in Upper Armenia, a celebrated writer of the thirteenth century, is regarded by the native scholars as the last of their classical writers.

‘ Even the general fact, that exclusively religious wars were carried on in the fifth century, between the Armenians and Persians, was hitherto very partially known: and, of course, the peculiar circumstances, the proclamations, embassies, and negotiations of which our author treats were nearly unknown. Saint Martin, in his copious work on Armenia, has indeed touched on this interesting epoch, and translated the proclamation of the Grand Vizier, relative to the creed of Zoroaster. The influence exercised by the Parsis may be clearly traced in many of the Christian sects in the fifth century of our era; and, in Armenia, visible marks of the stubborn religion of Zoroaster are found, long after the fall of the Sassanide dynasty. The followers of Zoroaster, called ‘sons or servants of the Sun’ by the Armenian writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, withdrew for the greater part to the borders of Armenia, towards Mesopotamia. This worship of the sun and of the elements mixed itself with Christian views, and thence divers heresies arose. Nerses, surnamed *the pleasing* (+1173), expressly says, that the servants of the Sun, among the Armenians, were the same with the Paulicians among the Greeks. From 1166 to 1173, Nerses was invested with the dignity of Katholikos of all Armenia, and he spared no pains to eradicate this last remnant of the religion of Zoroaster in Armenia. His endeavours appear to have been successful, for after his time no further traces are found in Armenian history of the servants of the sun.’ pp. xx—xxi.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. III. *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. W. Thorp.*
By Joseph Fletcher, D.D. Including a Memoir of Mr. Thorp, and the Letters addressed by him to his Church, during the last Month of his Illness. 8vo. London, 1833.

DEATH has reaped a rich harvest within the last few years.

Poets, statesmen, and philosophers, men whose fame had become commensurate with civilized humanity, have been numbered among its victims. Numbers, not wont to be thoughtful on such themes, have been constrained to think something of those narrow and gloomy dwellings where the tabernacles of clay, so late the home of genius, science, learning, or philanthropy, have been deposited;—laid apart, that, away from the sight and sound of the bustling crowd surviving them, they may meet their native element again. A foreboding gloom, like the shadows of a coming night, has been thus sent over many a scene of gayety, and has entered, for a little season, the retreat of the learned, and the homes of power and ambition. Dryburgh churchyard is not the only spot in the land which, of late, has forced the transient indulgence of a misgiving, melancholy mood on the subject of human greatness and human hopes.

Yet, there is a greatness, of its own order, even in death; the greatness of the last and greatest evil that may here befall hu-

manity! Yes, there is little to impress, in what is peculiar to the most favoured class of the living, if compared with what is common to the dead. The living genius to which a whole race has done its homage, has less power to awe the inner man, than is found to belong even to the peasant, when his coffin is about him; and a monarch on his throne would be almost forgotten, by a mind of due sensibility, before a beggar in his shroud. The only greater event than the death which all men see, is the death which is ever before them, but which they too often fail to see,—the death of the soul!

While we have been thus adverting to the trophies which death has recently gained from among the great in the estimate of man, some of our readers have probably been reminded of similar inroads, during the same period, nearer home. There are men who are not great, in the sense of this world's greatness; but who are eminently such, in the view of an intelligence more perfect than has hitherto obtained on the earth. And when we call this fact to mind, the names, and more than the names, of such men as Waugh, and Wilks, and Hill, readily occur; and we are reminded of a Hall, and a Clarke, and of many besides;—men, some of whom have bequeathed the fruit of their consecrated power and erudition for the benefit of future times, while others, devoting themselves to the labours of the sphere immediately around them, have been content that their memorial should be on high, satisfied with prosecuting their plans of usefulness so that others might enter into their labours, and extend them. If the desire of posthumous fame had any place with this latter class, it was subdued and chastened, in common with many other tendencies, by religious principle. To do good “in their generation”, was evidently their leading maxim.

The late Mr. Thorp must be regarded as belonging to this truly honourable class of men. With talents and acquirements equal to almost any thing to which they should be applied, his life was mainly occupied in those more immediate and local exertions, the fruit of which will be more apparent in the disclosures of eternity, than in the present world. It is well known that there were minor opinions entertained by Mr. Thorp, which are by no means our own. But on these, we are in no mood at present to expatiate; and we must present our sincere acknowledgements to Dr. Fletcher for the candour, the independence, and the ability, with which he has exhibited the claims of the friend of his youth. Our readers cannot peruse the following extract without interest.

‘With the character of Mr. Thorp’s ministry you are well acquainted. You well remember his clear and forcible statements—his full and rich exhibitions of evangelical truth—his energetic appeals to the conscience—and his tender and affectionate pleadings with you.

You know the unblemished purity of his life and conversation, and the living testimony which he bore to the truth of the doctrines he preached, and to the simplicity and sincerity of his own conviction.

‘ It was during the time of his Ministry at Chester, thirty-nine years ago, that it was my happiness to become first acquainted with your honoured and beloved Pastor. Never shall I forget the impressions produced on my youthful mind by his affectionate and persuasive eloquence at that early period of his Ministry. There was a tone of pathos that melted and subdued the hearers, while his unaffected, and truly natural manner of delivery, powerfully arrested and captivated the attention. He did not long remain at Chester, and I had not the privilege of again hearing my esteemed friend, till the period of his ministry in London. During the intervening period, there had been a rapid and powerful advancement in all the elements of mental greatness and ministerial power. The furniture of his mind was greatly enlarged by vast and extensive acquisitions. His memory, singularly accurate and retentive, was combined with a matured and discriminating judgement.

‘ His acquaintance with historical, ecclesiastical, and theological literature was minute and extensive; and on all the great and interesting points that regard the essential verities of Christian doctrine, he possessed the most luminous and comprehensive views. His power of argumentation was of the highest order; and he had the rare and enviable faculty of investing an abstruse and complicated train of reasoning, with so much of a lucid order and expansive illustration, as to render even a polemic discussion a source of the richest intellectual enjoyment, as well as conducive to the great ends of religious edification. His mind was eminently fitted for discursive efforts; possessing a grasp of gigantic power on any subject that had been long the matter of his thoughtful meditation. He could perceive distinctly all the direct and collateral bearings of each successive point of evidence; no link dropped from the chain, and of all he was in such complete possession, as to bring the entire series of the most prolonged argumentation, without any artificial help, to a satisfactory and convincing termination. At the same time, there was every thing that tended to confirm and perpetuate impression, in the manner as well as the matter of his discourses; a tone of majesty that could awe, and of tenderness that could melt and subdue. His discourses were eminently imbued with evangelical sentiment: he maintained the harmony and proportions of Christian doctrine, and exhibited with fearlessness and fidelity “the whole counsel of God.”

‘ Whatever might be the peculiarities of his theology, or rather of his system of theological interpretation, they were the result of deep thinking and matured conviction. Nor can a light estimate be justly formed of the evidence that may be adduced in their favour, when the names of *Bryant*, and *Forbes*, and *Horne*, and *Jones*, and *Horsley*, may be cited as authorities in their support. Those views of interpretation which he deliberately adopted, were such as tended to impart a rich savour of evangelical unction to his ministry, so that CHRIST JESUS was indeed the Alpha and Omega of his ministration. But whatever, on these points, or on such as respected the accomplish-

ment of unfulfilled predictions, might have been the peculiarities of his mental habits, they did not affect the general strain of his ministration, or interfere with his continued efforts and zealous cooperation in the great cause of Christian truth. He was not ambitious to form a sect, and proudly insulate himself and his partisans from every portion of the Christian Church; nor did he delight in dealing out anathemas and fulminations on all who differed from him. Whatever might have been his convictions on points of prophetic interpretation, in which he agreed with *Mede*, and *Gill*, and *Newton*,—he had no sympathy with the displays of intolerance and the pretensions of fanaticism. It is right and proper that no imputation should lie against the memory of our departed friend, that could identify his opinions and sentiments with the assumptions and follies of the most repulsive dogmatism that has ever appeared in modern times. But I need not attempt a further illustration of the leading features of his ministerial character. With all his excellencies you are well acquainted:—nor can those forget, who had the privilege of his friendship, how kind and benignant was the prevailing tone of his feelings and spirit, how eminently fascinating were his powers of conversational intercourse, and how unimpeachable were his character and deportment.

pp. 25—27.

To all this it should be added, that Mr. Thorp was eminently the friend of his brethren in the ministry. His attachment to them did not evaporate in a barely decorous courtesy of manner toward his equals in talent and station; still less did it allow him to indulge in sarcastic ribaldry at the cost of young preachers, or to deem himself released from the law of courtesy and kindness when his brother happened to be among the needy and oppressed. In the case of the injured, there was nothing in the probable frown of any local Diotrophes, to deter him from pursuing the course commending itself to him as proper; and wrong done to a minister, whose only real offence perhaps was his inevitable poverty, was about the last thing he could forgive. No man could have less of the priest in his character or deportment; but he had withal a respect for the ministerial office, which partook of all the sanctity of a religious feeling.

The account of Mr. Thorp's last illness, affords the most edifying proof of his sincere and ardent piety. Many of the sentiments uttered by him in his sick chamber, and in the near prospect of death, are given by Dr. Fletcher, and cannot be read without advantage to a devout mind. The whole sermon, while partaking of that soundness of theological statement and correct taste, which were to be expected from the preacher, is characterized by a pathos and devotion eminently suited to its object; and must contribute to preserve the memory of a man who was most honoured and beloved where he was most intimately known.

We should add, that the profits of the Discourse are to be appropriated to the benefit of the Widow and younger children.

Art. IV. *Poems by Hartley Coleridge.* Vol. I. 8vo. pp. viii. 157.
Price 6s. Leeds, 1833.

HOW such a volume as this came to be printed at Leeds, we may wonder, but care not to inquire. Instead of wishing to pry into the circumstances of the life of the Poet, we would rather know nothing about the Author of these delicious compositions, (for such the greater part are,) than may be gathered from the poems; out of which the fancy may shape an ideal portrait and a poetical life, such as ought to be the likeness and history of the man gifted with the genius they exhibit. But how few are the poets whose lives add any thing to the pleasure and interest derived from their productions! When we have excepted Milton, Spenser, Cowper, and a few more, we have named nearly all of whom it can be truly said,

‘ Yet is his life the more endearing song ’.

Nor is this to be wondered at. The exquisite mental organization requisite to imaginative genius, requires to be balanced by no ordinary degree of constitutional vigour or moral energy, not to become a source of feebleness and morbid feeling. The intellectual luxury which consists in resigning the mind to pleasing impressions and disporting with the imagery of an ideal creation, is in itself enervating to the mind, tending to unfit it for the masculine virtues of real life. The moral purpose of poetry is, ‘ to make the past and the future preponderate over the present ’; but to the poet himself, there is danger that the present, which is the only point of time that admits of action, should be altogether sacrificed to vain reminiscences and abortive aspirations, which, instead of exciting the active energies, act as opiates, first weakening and at length destroying them. No species of self-indulgence, however innocent or intellectual, can be made the business of life, without a fatal influence upon the character. It is all very well, as beneficial to the mind as delightful, in early life, to

‘ wander like a breeze,
By lakes and sandy shores, beneath the crags
Of ancient mountain, and beneath the clouds
Which image in their bulk both lakes, and shores,
And mountain crags.’

But when ‘ the shapes and fantasies ’ of poetry come to mix with the passions of riper years, then it is that the spoiled child of imagination begins to display the unequal growth of his powers, the vivacity and strength of his conceptions with the *spinal* weakness of his active principles, and to suffer and err from the absence of that virtue which is to be acquired only from some species of gymnastic discipline with the troubles and difficulties of

life. We do not inquire, whether the following beautiful sonnets disclose the sad experience of the Writer, but they are as instructive and as true as they are touching and melodious. The first has quite a Shakspearian cast.

SONNET IX.

' Long time a child, and still a child, when years
Had painted manhood on my cheek, was I ;
For yet I lived like one not born to die ;
A thriftless prodigal of smiles and tears ;
No hope I needed, and I knew no fears.
But sleep, though sweet, is only sleep ; and waking,
I waked to sleep no more, at once o'ertaking
The vanguard of my age, with all arrears
Of duty on my back. Nor child, nor man,
Nor youth, nor sage, I find my head is grey,
For I have lost the race I never ran ;
A rathe December blights my lagging May ;
And still I am a child, tho' I be old,
Time is my debtor for my years untold.'

SONNET XI.

' How long I sailed, and never took a thought
To what port I was bound ! Secure as sleep,
I dwelt upon the bosom of the deep
And perilous sea. And though my ship was fraught
With rare and precious fancies, jewels brought
From fairy land, no course I cared to keep ;
Nor changeful wind nor tide I heeded ought,
But joyed to see the merry billows leap,
And watch the sunbeams dallying with the waves,
Or haply dream what realms beneath may lie ;
Where the clear ocean is an emerald sky,
And mermaids warble in their coral caves,
Yet vainly woo me to their secret home.
And sweet it were for ever so to roam.'

But a truce to all grave reflections. Here is, however it be obtained, a draught of 'pure Castaly',—a volume of genuine poetry,—unequal, sometimes feeble, and seldom rising to the character of 'words that burn', but sustaining palpably throughout, the impress of original, we were going to say constitutional and hereditary genius. We are not about to offer any criticisms upon the poetry, because to the Author it were needless, and to our readers tiresome. We may apply to real poetry, what our Author says in a different reference,

' He loves not right, that asks or answers why'.

If any one asks why we like the following lines, let him be assured that no answer could be to him intelligible.

' WHAT I HAVE HEARD.

' I've heard the merry voice of spring,
 When thousand birds their wild notes fling
 Here and there, and every where,
 Stirring the young and lightsome air ;—
 I've heard the many-sounding seas,
 And all their various harmonies ;—
 The tumbling tempest's dismal roar,
 On the waste and wreck-strewn shore—
 The howl and the wail of the prisoned waves,
 Clamouring in the ancient caves,
 Like a stifled pain that asks for pity.
 And I have heard the sea at peace,
 When all its fearful noises cease,
 Lost in one soft and multitudinous ditty,
 Most like the murmur of a far-off city :—
 Nor less the blither notes I know,
 To which the inland waters flow,—
 The rush of rocky-bedded rivers,
 That madly dash themselves to shivers ;
 But anon, more prudent growing,
 O'er countless pebbles smoothly flowing,
 With a dull continuous roar,
 Hie they onward, evermore :
 To their everlasting tune,
 When the sun is high at noon,
 The little billows, quick and quicker,
 Weave their mazes thick and thicker,
 And beneath, in dazzling glances,
 Labyrinthine lightning dances,
 Snaky network intertwining,
 With thousand molten colours shining :
 Mosaic rich with living light,
 With rainbow jewels gaily dight—
 Such pavement never, well I ween,
 Was made by monarch or magician,
 For Arab or Egyptian queen ;
 'Tis gorgeous as a prophet's vision.
 And I ken the brook, how sweet it tinkles,
 As cross the moonlight green it twinkles,
 Or heard, not seen, 'mid tangled wood,
 Where the soft stock-dove lulls her brood,
 With her one note of all most dear—
 More soothing to the heart than ear.
 And well I know the smothered moan
 Of that low breeze, so small and brief,
 It seems a very sigh, whose tone
 Has much of love, but more of grief.
 I know the sound of distant bells,
 Their dying falls and gusty swells ;

That music which the wild gale seizes,
 And fashions howsoe'er it pleases.
 And I love the shrill November blast,
 That through the brown wood hurries fast,
 And strips its old limbs bare at last ;
 Then whirls the leaves in circling error,
 As if instinct with life and terror—
 Now bursting out enough to deafen
 The very thunder of the heaven ;
 Now sinking dolefully and dreary,
 Weak as a child of sport a-weary.
 And after a long night of rain,
 When the warm sun comes out again,
 I've heard the myriad-voiced rills,
 The many tongues of many hills,
 All gushing forth in new-born glory,
 Striving each to tell its story—
 Yet every little brook is known
 By a voice that is its own,
 Each exulting in the glee
 Of its new prosperity.

Here are some lines in a graver strain, which will at all events find their way to the heart.

‘ REGENERATION.

- ‘ I need a cleansing change within :
 My life must once again begin.
 New hope I need ; and hope renew'd,
 And more than human fortitude ;
 New faith, new love, and strength to cast
 Away the fetters of the past.
- ‘ Ah ! why did fabling Poets tell,
 That Lethe only flows in Hell ?
 As if, in truth, there was no river,
 Whereby the leper may be clean,
 But that which flows, and flows for ever,
 And crawls along, unheard, unseen,
 Whence brutish spirits, in contagious shoals,
 Quaff the dull drench of apathetic souls.
- ‘ Ah no ! but Lethe flows aloft
 With lulling murmur, kind and soft
 As voice which sinners send to heaven,
 When first they feel their sins forgiven :
 Its every drop as bright and clear
 As if indeed it were a tear,
 Shed by the lovely Magdalen
 For Him who was despised of men.
- ‘ It is the only fount of bliss
 In all the human wilderness.

It is the true Bethesda—solely
 Endued with healing might, and holy :
 Not once a year, but evermore ;
 Not one, but all men to restore.'

We must again advert to the noble sonnets : there are about forty of them, each a gem of poetry, perfect in the setting, and relieving each other by their varied character ; forming altogether a series sufficient to redeem this beautiful species of poem from the imputation of being a foreigner to our language, or unsuited to English versification. We must make room for two more.

' SONNET V.

' What was it wakened first the untried ear
 Of that sole man who was all human kind ?
 Was it the gladsome welcome of the wind,
 Stirring the leaves that yet were never sere ?
 The four mellifluous streams which flowed so near,
 Their lulling murmurs all in one combined ?
 The note of bird unnamed ? The startled hind
 Bursting the brake—in wonder, not in fear,
 Of her new lord ? Or did the holy ground
 Send forth mysterious melody to greet
 The gracious pressure of immaculate feet ?
 Did viewless seraphs rustle all around,
 Making sweet music out of air as sweet ?
 Or his own voice awake him with its sound ? '

' SONNET XVI.

' NOVEMBER.

' The mellow year is hasting to its close.
 The little birds have almost sung their last ;
 Their small notes twitter in the dreary blast—
 That shrill-piped harbinger of early snows.
 The patient beauty of the scentless rose,
 Oft with the Morn's hoar chrystal quaintly glass'd,
 Hangs, a pale mourner for the summer past,
 And makes a little summer where it grows.
 In the chill sunbeam of the faint brief day,
 The dusky waters shudder as they shine ;
 The russet leaves obstruct the straggling way
 Of oozy brooks, which no deep banks define,
 And the gaunt woods, in rugged, scant array,
 Wrap their old limbs with sombre ivy twine.'

It will be seen that this publication is announced as Vol. I. Should it be favourably received, it is to be shortly followed by another ; ' in which, if no more be accomplished, a higher strain ' is certainly attempted'. We claim the fulfilment of the promise, and hold the Author to his engagement to endeavour to

excel himself. Let him shake off all that would be a drag upon his honourable ambition, and surprise and rejoice his friends by redeeming the 'time of power' spent

' In idly watering weeds of casual growth,—
Till wasted energy to desperate sloth
Declined, and fond self-seeking discontent.'

His brother Derwent is setting him an honourable example.

- Art. IV. 1. *A Theological Dictionary*, containing Definitions of all religious and ecclesiastical Terms; a comprehensive View of every Article in the System of Divinity; an impartial Account of all the principal Denominations which have subsisted in the Religious World from the Birth of Christ to the present Day; together with an accurate statement of the most remarkable Transactions and Events recorded in Ecclesiastical History, and a biographical Sketch of such Writers as have exerted a decided Influence in the field of Theological Science. By the late Rev. Charles Buck. A new and greatly enlarged Edition; by the Rev. Dr. Henderson, Theological Tutor of Highbury College. 8vo, pp. 945. Price 18s. London, 1833.
2. *A Biblical and Theological Dictionary*: explanatory of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Jews, and neighbouring Nations. With an Account of the most remarkable Places and Persons mentioned in Sacred Scripture; an Exposition of the principal Doctrines of Christianity; and Notices of Jewish and Christian Sects and Heresies. By Richard Watson. Royal 8vo., pp. 1068. Price 1*l.* 5*s.* London, 1832.
3. *Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, by the late Mr. Charles Taylor, with the Fragments incorporated. The whole condensed and arranged in Alphabetical Order; with numerous additions. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings on Wood. Second Edition. Royal 8vo., pp. 964. Price 1*l.* 4*s.* London, 1832.
4. Part I. of an *Encyclopædia Ecclesiastica*; or a complete History of the Church: containing a full and compendious Explanation of all Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies; a distinct and accurate Account of all Denominations of Christians, from the earliest Ages to the present Time; together with a Definition of Terms occurring in Ecclesiastical Writers. By Thomas Anthony Trollope, LL.B. late Fellow of the New College, Oxford, Barrister at Law. 4to., Price 1*l.* London, 1833.

ALTHOUGH these works contain many features in common, it will be obvious, that they are publications of not precisely similar character. A Biblical Dictionary is a very different thing from a Theological one; and each of these differs materially from an Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia. Buck's Theological

Dictionary is, indeed, also a Dictionary of Ecclesiastical information. At the time of its original publication, it was quite a desideratum; of which full proof has been offered by its extraordinary sale. Besides six editions in this country, upwards of 50,000 copies have been circulated in the United States of America. Great commendation is due to the diligence of research and general fairness of the original Compiler, which, notwithstanding the subsequent appearance of similar works, have continued to secure for it a very general reception among different sections of the religious public; so that the demand for copies has constantly been on the increase. The Dictionary, however, it must be confessed, stood in urgent need of a thorough revision, to adapt it to the present more advanced state of knowledge, and it admitted, in many respects, of material improvements. We are glad that the task of re-casting the work has been committed to such competent and judicious hands. Dr. Henderson might fairly put in a claim to co-authorship, and he has certainly doubled the value of the Dictionary by his additions and amendments. The extent of these will be learned from the Preface.

‘The present Editor has considerably altered several of the original articles, especially such as related to foreign divinity; the circumstances connected with the different religious establishments in Christendom; the history, views, and usages of the different parties that have seceded from these establishments; the literature of theology; and other subjects of a kindred nature. Several that appeared to be of minor importance he has omitted, in order to make room for the insertion of others, of higher and more general interest. The number of *additional* articles in the present edition amounts to nearly FIVE HUNDRED.

‘One totally new feature of the Work, as it now appears, is its Biographical department. Readers who have not the command of biographical dictionaries, are frequently at a loss in regard to dates, places, and other circumstances connected with the history of divines and others, to whom reference is currently made, both in conversation and in books on religious subjects. Yet, to supply this want within a reasonable compass, has been found to be a matter of no small difficulty. The selection has been regulated by a regard to the prominent station, the literary eminence, or the celebrated character of the individual; and those writers only have been made the subject of biographical notice, who have exerted, to a considerable extent, a decided influence over the religious opinions and practices of certain sections or communities, in the age in which they lived, and in after times. See the articles, AUGUSTINE, BARCLAY, CALVIN, EDWARDS, KNOX, SANDEMAN, WESLEY, WHITFIELD, &c.

‘In preparing the additional articles, the Editor has availed himself of various sources which were not in existence in Mr. Buck’s time, or to which he could not obtain access; and he flatters himself that the extent to which he has carried the improvements will meet the approbation of general readers.’

Mr. Watson's Dictionary, published before his lamented decease, claimed from us earlier notice; but while, on the one hand, we felt it impossible to bestow an unqualified commendation upon a work tinctured so strongly with the Author's theological views and prejudices, we were indisposed to engage in polemical criticism in reviewing a dictionary. The work is professedly a compilation from preceding compilations, with the addition of original articles, which it is not always easy to distinguish. Free use has been made of Calmet's Dictionary, of Harris's Natural History of the Bible, and of Buck's Dictionary; it being the plan of the Compiler, to select only the more important articles, and to exclude 'many things of minor importance usually found in similar works,' so as to render his book, as the title indicates, at once a Biblical and a Theological Dictionary. How far this is an improvement, our readers will judge. The chief objection to mixing up articles of natural history, of Scripture geography, of ecclesiastical history, and of theological opinion, under one alphabet, seems to be, that a competent compiler of facts and historical details may not be altogether trustworthy as a guide and authority in points of divinity. Dr. Harris, for instance, whose Scripture Natural History is the best work of the kind extant, would have failed, we suspect, had he set about compiling a dictionary of theological opinions. Such words as Liturgy, Locust, Lollard, Love to God, Lucian, Ludim, Lunatic, Luther, occurring in immediate sequence, not only have an incongruous effect, but require, in order to be properly treated, a combination of talents and acquirements not often united. We admit that the mental qualifications possessed by Mr. Watson for any task he chose to undertake, were of no ordinary kind; and although errors, of which there are not a few, could not be avoided, the compilation is highly respectable.

But, as already intimated, the theology is so decidedly and dogmatically anti-Calvinistic, that the volume must be limited in its sale, as was perhaps contemplated, to persons of the same divinity school as the Author. The articles 'Calvin' and 'Calvinism' exhibit a warmth of manner which we were not prepared to find in a person of Mr. Watson's philosophical temperament. 'The man,' he says in one place, 'who asserts the contrary to this, and who has the *hardihood to deny* the Melancthonian origin of the Articles and Liturgy'—what then?—'discovers at once his want of correct information on these subjects, and has never read' Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, and the publications of Todd, Kipling, and Winchester!! Now it were easy to prove that Mr. Watson was deplorably deficient in correct information on these subjects, and to surmise that he had never read some works much better worth reading than these; but we would not have imputed 'hardihood'

to his assertions, because this word would convey the idea of something very much like wilful mis-statement, and would imply, too, the party's possessing the very information in which he is supposed to be deficient. We should be led to suspect that Mr. Watson had not even read Bishop Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles.

We must remark, by the way, that the article 'Calvinists,' in this new edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary, is utterly unsatisfactory: it is very defective, and not quite accurate. We have not at hand a copy of the previous edition, and cannot, therefore, ascertain the extent of the variations. We suspect, however, that Dr. Henderson has felt himself restrained from making all the alterations which would have seemed to himself desirable, lest too little should be left of the original work to identify it. Surely such words as Persuasion, Peterobrussian, Petition, Petrojoannite, which occur in one page, or Immensity, Immorality, Impeccabiles, Impostors, Intrepidity, &c., were not worth retaining: the articles are perfectly trivial. Still more superfluous or absurd are the articles Lifters, Mirth, Marrow-men, Rogereens, &c. We should recommend copious expurgations in a new edition. As far as we have been able to examine the volume, great attention has been paid to accuracy by the present Editor. We have observed only a few errors. Under 'Creed, Nicene,' for 'second general council of Constantinople,' it should read, second general council, *at* Constantinople; the latter being held 170 years after the former. Under the word 'Canon,' use has been made of Dr. Alexander's recent work; but we are surprised that the statement should have been suffered to pass, that the book of Malachi was inserted in the sacred volume by Ezra, who is made to have completed the canon, which includes a book (Nehemiah) written a hundred years after his death. Under 'Ishmaelites,' the old blunder which renders *Sheikh el Jebel*, old man of the mountain, ought not to have been perpetuated: it would be just as proper to translate alderman, *viellard*. That the Paulicians were called 'Gathari or Gazari, from Gazaria or the Lesser Tartary,' is a piece of information perfectly new to us, and for which we presume we are indebted to Mr. Buck, not to the learned Editor. We were aware of their being denominated *Cathari* or Puritans; but we did not know that such a country as Gazaria existed, or that Armenia, the original country of the Paulicians, was in Tartary.

We know, however, by experience, what sort of task the compiling, or even editing of a Dictionary is; and we beg to be understood as not invidiously pointing out these few errors as specimens of the work in which they are found. The Dictionary, as improved by Dr. Henderson, will be found a very useful book of reference, containing a great mass of information, temperate and

orthodox in its theology, while the biographical articles add greatly to the value of the work.

Calmet's Dictionary is so well known, that we have only to notice the cheap and beautifully printed form in which it is here given to the public, with the substance of the Fragments incorporated in one alphabet. We noticed the first Number of this edition on its first appearance, and have only to repeat our warm commendation of the manner in which editor, printer, and publishers have performed their respective part in condensing five quarto volumes into a single large octavo. It is a volume which no Biblical student will be content to be without, unless he is able to make himself possessor of the complete work.

Of Mr. Trollope's *Encyclopædia Ecclesiastica*, we have at present before us only Part I., which ends with the word Burial. The whole work is to extend to four volumes 4to., which will cost about 8*l*. As far as we have been able to examine this specimen, we have pleasure in reporting that it appears to be prepared with great care, competent ability, and laudable impartiality. The work is to be published by subscription; and from the names of right honourables and right reverends which grace the list, we hope that the Author will meet with sufficient encouragement to proceed in his labours. There is room for such a work, although the price will put it far out of the reach of poor students. We question the utility of swelling out the volumes with such articles as Bacantibi, Bagnolians, Ballimathiaë, Barbeliotæ, Barules, Bumicilli, &c. By thus converting temporary nicknames into specific appellations, it would be easy to multiply any sect into a score. The article Assassin is very faulty: the sect took their name from their leader Hassan. The account of editions of the Bible, taken from Short's Sketch, is also inaccurate on several points.

Art. VI. *Journals of Excursions in the Alps: the Pennine, Graian, Cottian, Rhetian, Lepontian, and Bernese.* By William Brockedon, Author of "*Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps.*" 12mo, pp. xiv. 376, Map. Price 10*s*. 6*d*. London, 1833.

MR. BROCKEDON and Mr. Latrobe are, we presume, better acquainted, by personal inspection, with the topography of the Alps, than any other English or European travellers. At least, they have made us better acquainted with them, and thrown more light upon Alpine history and geography, the one by the magic of the pencil, the other by the feats of his alpenstock, than all preceding travellers put together. To Mr. Latrobe we are more especially indebted for the best description

of the Tyrolese Alps. Mr. Brockedon (of whose larger work an account was given in the fourth volume of our present series) has traversed the Alps no fewer than sixty times, and explored more than thirty different routes. The present volume comprises the 'personal narrative' of his various excursions, from the notes of which the text was formed that accompanies his graphic 'Illustrations;' thrown into a shape adapted as well to direct the actual tourist, as to furnish amusement to the fire-side traveller.

Previously to the first of the two excursions narrated in this volume, Mr. B. had crossed the Alps by the Simplon route in 1821, and repassed them in the following year by the Brenner. In July, 1824, he started again on a journey of discovery, in search of Hannibal's route, and repaired direct to the foot of Mont Blanc at Chamouny; whence he crossed, by the Col de Vosa, the Col de Gauche, and the Col de la Seigne, to Courmayeur, and descended with the Doria Baltea to Aosta. After exploring the picturesque lake scenery of Piedmont and Lombardy, and visiting Milan and Turin, our Tourist turned up into the Cottian Alps, by the valley of the Clusone, and crossed the Col de Sestrières and Mont Genève to Briançon in Dauphiny. This route, the ancient *Saltus Taurinus*, was to have been part of Napoleon's intended *route d'Espagne en Italie*. From Briançon, Mr. Brockedon proceeded by the valleys of the Guisanne and the Romanche, and the intermediate Col de Lautaret, to Grenoble. Thence he ascended the valley of the Isère to Montmélian, in Savoy; and, entering the Tarentaise, crossed the Graian Alp in the track of Hannibal, by the pass of the Little St. Bernard, which conducted him again to Aosta. From this place, he ascended the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and by that well-known route reached Martigny in the Valais, Geneva, and Paris.

The second excursion, in the summer of 1825, commenced with a journey to Lyons and Chambery, and the passage of Mont Cenis to Susa and Turin. Mr. B. then turned again into the Alps by the Val d'Aosta; from Chatillon, he ascended Mount Cervin by the Val Tournanche, and descended, by Zermatt and St. Nicolas, to Visp in the valley of the Rhone. Thence he crossed Mount Moro to Macugnaga, in the valley of the Anza, at the foot of Monte Rosa; a route but little known, but one of the most picturesque and interesting in the Alps. After visiting the lakes of Lugano and Como, our indefatigable Tourist proceeded by the new route of the Splügen to the capital of the Grisons, and Wallenstadt. Returning to Coire, he then ascended the pass of the St. Bernardin, and, by the Val Misocco and Val Levantina, reached Bellinzona and Locarno. The next excursion was across the St. Gothard to the Val Ursern and the lake of

Lucerne; whence Mr. B. found his way by the Grimsel and the Gries to Duomo d'Ossola, and by the Simplon to Brieg, Lausanne, and—home.

Having given this brief report of the route of the two excursions, which will serve as a general index to the volume, nothing remains but to offer a few samples of the scenery they afford, and of the Writer's power of making it intelligible to the mind through a different medium than that by which his pencil has already familiarized to us some few of the more striking combinations. The ascent of the Col de la Seigne, between Chamouny and Courmayeur, affords a pleasing specimen.

‘ Our route lay up the valley of the torrent which rises in the *Glacier del Oratoire*, on the south-east side of Mont Blanc. The path was rugged and difficult. No living sound was heard, except that of the marmot, whose shrill whistle occasionally disturbed the deep sense of solitude with which the mind of the traveller is oppressed in his first visit to these Alpine regions. Yet, there was a spirit, a vivacity excited by the cool freshness of the morning and the purity of the air that we breathed in, which is never felt in the same degree out of the mountains.

‘ In about two hours we reached, by a rugged and difficult path, the *Hameau de Glacier*, and, soon after, the *châlets* of Motet. From these *châlets*, the ascent to the Col de la Seigne is very steep and fatiguing; and in one place, the idea of danger was strongly excited by our guide, who lay on his back towards the mountain slope, where a very narrow path skirted a precipice, and held our coats until the mules were beyond the point of danger. The path was slippery, from the wet and loose slate of which it was composed; but the precaution was appalling, and, I think, unnecessary; though we certainly could not see the bottom of the valley immediately beneath us as we passed this spot.

‘ After ascending about an hour and a half from Motet, we attained the summit of the Col de la Seigne, about 8000 feet, where an alpine view of extraordinary magnificence burst upon us. We looked upon Mont Blanc, and along the course of the valleys which divide Piemont from the Valais, and extend nearly thirty miles on the eastern side of its enormous mass, through the *Allée Blanche*, the *Val Veni*, and the *Val d'Entrèves*, to the Col de Ferret. Two immense pyramids of rugged rock rear from the valley their scathed heads, and appear like guards to the “monarch of mountains;” beyond and below them lay the little lake of Combai, whence issues one of the sources of the *Doira Baltea*; and down the sides of Mont Blanc appeared to stream the glaciers of the *Allée Blanche* and the *Miage*; whilst the distant peaks which overhang the western side of this long valley or valleys (for different portions of it, from the Col de la Seigne to the Col de Ferret, bear different names) give a peculiarly grand and severe aspect to the scene: among these the *Géant* and the *Grand Jorasse* are distinguished. The eastern side of the valley is formed by the *Cramont*, and a range of mountains which extend to the Col de

Ferret, and terminate the vista in Mont Velan, and the masses which surround the pass of the Great St. Bernard. The summit of Mont Blanc was occasionally enveloped in clouds, and the changes which these produced upon the scene, were often strikingly beautiful. Most travellers, whose expectations have been formed upon the descriptions in guide-books, are led to believe that the eastern side of Mont Blanc is one vast precipice, from the summit down to the Allée Blanche: it is certainly much more abrupt than towards the vale of Chamouny; but no such anticipation will be realised in the magnificent view from the Col de la Seigne.

‘ From this col, leading across the great chain of the Alps, we began our descent over some beds of perpetual snow, which, lying on the northern side of the pass, remain unmelted. Though steep, these are not dangerous, as the feet sink two or three inches, and give firmness to the step. Scarcely any melting takes place on the surface of the snow, unless where the soil has been washed over, or fallen so as to cover it. Generally, the snow melts below, in contact with the earth; and this is one of the causes of avalanches, where the mass which slips acquires momentum enough to rush on. Caution is generally necessary near the edges of these beds of snow, where it is thin, lest the traveller should sink through, perhaps two or three feet. After a tedious descent to the first pasturage, at the base of the two immense pyramids which formed so striking a feature from the summit, we sat down upon the short and soft grass of the pasturage of the chalets of the Allée Blanche, to rest the mules and ourselves, and took refreshment, which we had brought with us. The life and spirit of such enjoyment as this is only known to alpine travellers. The sward around us was enamelled with beautiful flowers: of these, the broad patches of the deep blue gentian were the richest in colour; the alpine ranunculus, and a hundred other varieties, embellished the place where we rested; being surrounded by, and in the immediate vicinity of, the loftiest mountains in Europe.’ pp. 31—34.

Selection is sometimes a perplexing task; but we think that the Author himself will be pleased with our giving a preference to his favourite Anzascans, whose beautiful valley draws from him the highest expression of satisfaction that a true *Devonian* could employ;—it reminded him, where, from its depth, the lofty mountains were concealed from view, ‘of some of the sweetest scenes of Devonshire.’

‘ Extensive forests of chestnut and walnut-trees, fine in form and rich in colour, clothed the hills as far up as the eye could perceive them, (except where lofty and distant mountains peered above,) and descended far beneath the traveller’s path, to where it met the opposite slope, scarcely appearing to leave room enough for the river to struggle through, and of which glimpses were rarely caught. This was the general character of the valley. From a chapel at Cimamorga, in the road near Ceppo Morelli, there is a very striking view: in it all the beautiful characteristics of the scenery seemed to be assembled—the river far beneath struggling through its narrow bed; the ma-

jestic forests, which clothed the mountain sides, among which was sometimes seen a village church or group of cottages; and the vista towards the Alps terminated by the vast and beautiful peaks of Mont Rosa.

'I was much struck by the appearance of the inhabitants of this valley. I rarely saw a plain woman: their beautiful faces and fine forms, their look of cheerfulness and independence, and, what in Piemont was more remarkable, their extreme cleanliness, continually arrested attention. Their costume was peculiar, but pleasing: the hair braided; a vest fitted to the form, and buttoned high, over which was another, usually embroidered and left open; beneath, a silk or other cincture round the waist, and a petticoat reaching half-way down the legs: the feet generally bare; the sleeves of the chemise loose, full, and white as the snow of their mountains; with faces, hands, and feet, cleaner than those of any other peasantry that I ever saw. Sometimes I observed a loose coat, like that of the modern Greek, worn over their usual dress, as if going on a distant visit. Naked feet are rarely seen without the concomitants of filth and beggary, and among such persons a large proportion of the *gummy*; but here the feet, ancles, and legs, were models for the artist: and my admiration as a painter was demanded, in observing the elegant form and graceful appearance of one particularly beautiful young girl, near St. Carlo, who was bearing a vessel of oil on her head to the mines. All this I suppose will appear *rodomontade* to those who are only acquainted with the ugliness, filth, and wretchedness of the general inhabitants of the valleys of Piemont; but another fact will support the claims of the Anzascans to distinguished superiority. I did not see nor hear of a *goître* or *crétin* in my day's journey of twenty-five miles through the valley—a strong confirmation of the opinions always given to my inquiries by mountaineers themselves, that the filthy habits of a people are the primary cause of *goîtres* and *crétinism*; it is thus induced in the community of those afflicted by the dreadful scourge, becomes hereditary, and can only be removed by a change of habits in two or three generations. This valley differs not in the local causes, often cited as productive of *crétinism*, from other valleys which are marked by this scourge. The waters of the Anza flow from the glaciers of Mont Rosa as those of the Doire descend from Mont Blanc, and both are drunk by the inhabitants. The proportions of labour, and burdens borne, are at least equal to the Val Anzasca; the degree of elevation and moisture is similar; and it is parallel with those valleys which are the most remarkable for this curse, the Valais and the Val d'Aosta.

'The Anzascans are aware that they have a reputation for cleanliness and beauty, and they are justly proud of it. Whilst I was taking refreshment at Vanzone, the principal town in the valley, I mentioned to the innkeeper (rather, a sort of keeper of a chandler's shop) the impression which the people of the valley had made upon me. He seemed delighted at my having noticed the fine women and their cleanliness, and said that what I had seen was not sufficient to do them justice: "Come," said he, "into our valley at a festa; see our women on Sunday next at St. Carlo, the village below there,

which you see in the valley ; all the world will be there : in Upper Val Sesia they boast of their women, but they are not to be compared to ours." I spoke again of their cleanliness ; he said, " Our women pride themselves upon the quantity, the fineness, and, above all, the whiteness of their linen ; and they are so scrupulously clean in their persons, that (I must use his own energetic expression) *il est plus facile de trouver une mouche blanche dans cette vallée qu'une vermine.*" I had not observed any beggars in the valley ; and there was no appearance of poverty : mine host said, that the great industry of the Anzascans enabled them to establish funds for their poor, which prevented their wants, and restrained their begging. Those who could not work were assisted, and those who could, were not permitted to be idle.' pp. 256—259.

Mr. Brockedon's narrative is written in a style extremely pleasing, and the more so from being perfectly unaffected. There is no attempt at fine writing, nor at the embellishments of dramatic adventure or 'hair-breadth 'scapes.' He was so fortunate, or so unfortunate, as to encounter no bandits, no worse thieves than extortionate landladies, insolent douaniers, or petty pilferers, and to meet with nothing that could be manufactured into a tragic or sentimental story. Scrambling over the Alps is, however, under some circumstances, no joke ; and we scarcely envy the Author his journey over Mont Cervin, as described in the following paragraphs.

' We proceeded, over a wet, loose, and fatiguing path, to a great elevation, whence the surrounding scene of snow, scathed peaks, and sterility, was most sublime. When we had attained the extreme height of this loose and dangerous ascent, with clouds, glaciers, and even mountains, beneath our feet, we entered upon the fresh snow over the glaciers. We were the first to pass after the storm, and we sunk knee-deep in the snow at every step. One of my guides walked a-head, searching with a long baton for crevices ; we slipped occasionally into small ones concealed by the snow, and sunk to the middle, but we scrambled out, sometimes with, sometimes without assistance. The most fatiguing part of a walk over deep snow arises from the jerking consolidation beneath the feet, particularly in the ascent : where the leg was first placed in walking, it sunk to a certain depth ; in advancing the body on that leg, it sunk deeper, with a violent and fatiguing jerk. The sun, when he shone upon us, poured down with excessive fervency. During the entire pass, I did not once feel it cold, though sometimes we were so entirely enveloped in clouds that we could not distinguish the small sticks which had been put up to point out dangerous situations, or to direct the passengers to straight lines from point to point. When we encountered two such sticks, it indicated a bridge of ice across a crevice, which required great caution. We were above five hours on the glaciers, of which the ascent employed about three and a half. On attaining the summit, I was disappointed in finding little trace of the chalet of Saussure, or of the spot always, as it was described, free from snow. There is a vast ac-

cumulation of rocks on the summit, with the sides too steep to retain the snow; it is probable, also, that the unfavourable circumstances under which I passed it might have been an exception to its general appearance and character. The changes of weather at this great height, above 11,000 English feet, are inconceivably sudden; at one time, when the sun shone out, we observed the vast mountains of Mont Rosa, and their enormous glaciers—the valleys beneath our feet sinking into indistinctness—the Bernese Alps, beyond the Valais, and, more striking than any other object, the beautiful pyramid of the Mont Cervin, springing 5000 feet from its bed of glaciers—all burst upon the eye at once with unimaginable effect and grandeur. In five minutes a change came o'er the scene; and all was concealed—the spot upon which we stood appeared a white circle, its outline blending at a short distance with the clouds—and we were alone, without an object visible beyond the circle.

‘I had felt severely the extreme rarity of the air in ascending, seldom advancing twenty steps without resting; the angle of ascent, too, in some places was considerable. Once, when I was gasping, the guide roused me by, “*Courage, monsieur! personne reste ici sans mourant.*” I exerted myself, stopping frequently; but when the highest point was attained, felt perfectly free in breathing. I observed a great number of flies on the snow, even at the greatest elevation, where they must have sunk in their high and long flight, for some were torpid. Many were curious in form, and beautiful in colour. I saw, also, on the snow and confines of the glaciers, large flights of snow-birds. I could not help thinking of Dr. Johnson's comment upon the crow in the Highlands.

‘On attaining the summit, we prepared, in high spirits, to take some bread and wine and eggs, which Pension the guide had wisely brought from Val Tournanche: the new guide, Maynot, began an amusing account of the passage of Hannibal by the Mont Cervin. The remains of an old redoubt, built by the Valaisans, which it was very difficult to trace, my learned guide said was raised by the Carthaginian general, and quoted Tite Live and Polybe as authority. But before I could receive either this mental or our corporeal food, a sudden change in the weather occurred: the snow began to fall thickly, and whirl in alarming eddies round us. My guides hastily packed up, and, dreading the tourmente, started down the Swiss side of the mountain with great rapidity, sinking deeply in the snow at each step, but without much fatigue, and affording enjoyment enough to raise shouts of laughter as one or the other rolled over. I had put on a mask of gauze, with which I had provided myself in ascending: I was glad to employ it against the painful reflection of the snow: it was equally useful to protect the face from the fine hard particles of snow during the tourmente. In descending, an enormous rent in the ice was shewn to me; the consequence of the breaking of the glaciers last year, when I was prevented from proceeding this way. A merchant and his horse sunk for ever in it in crossing, and, say the guides, with 10,000 francs in his possession. We soon descended into fine weather, and, from the bottom of the glacier, after having been five hours upon it, I enjoyed a splendid view of the Cervin—it is from the

Swiss side that it is seen to the greatest advantage. I made a sketch at a fortunate moment, when it was perfectly clear; I had not removed fifty steps from the spot where I drew it, when the mountain appeared to wrap itself in clouds with such sudden concealment, that even my guide was struck with it, and called my attention to the fact.' pp. 230—234.

Among minor annoyances, was that of having violence done to all poetic associations, and the ear offended, by such sounds as these in the hospice on the summit of the Great St. Bernard: 'Miss, I'll thankee to an my Selina a bit of that 'ere.' And yet, though the vulgarity might offend, an Englishman might be proud that even his cockney countrymen should conceive the wish, and be able to gratify it, to cross the Alps. With more reason our Traveller complains of the 'unconquerable sheepishness and restraining pride' of English travellers. They are, probably, the only people who, meeting their countrymen in a strange country, would pass without speaking to each other, or any exchange of civilities. Such anecdotes as the following, however, may tend to put the most fastidious Englishman in temper with his country. The fort of Fenestrelles, which commands the valley of the Clusone, is now employed by the Sardinian Government as a state prison.

'Several of the carbonari of Piemont are confined here: it is also the prison of that villain Mingrat, the curé of St. Quentin's, (Isère,) who, after murdering, with circumstances of horrible aggravation, a woman, one of his parishoners, fled from justice, and escaping across the frontiers, felt himself safe in Piemont, where the clergy never suffer publicly for their crimes: he is now kept in the fort of Fenestrelles, rather for protection than punishment. Our guide, upon hearing me relate the affair of St. Quentin's, confirmed the report of the practice of this infamous injustice. He said, that recently, near Caluso, a traveller was left for dead by a brigand who had stopped and robbed him; the poor victim was, however, taken up and cured of his wounds. On entering the church to make acknowledgment for the mercy of his life spared, he saw, in the priest officiating at mass, his murderer. He immediately went out and gave information to proper authorities, who cautioned him of the danger of charging a priest with the crime; he was positive, and stated that he had some money about him when he was robbed, curiously marked, which he described. After the service, the priest was arrested—beneath his canonicals was the very dress in which he had made the attack, and the marked money, which he had been afraid to pass, was found upon him. The priest was ordered into confinement, but neither publicly tried nor punished.' pp. 92—93.

At La Grave, on the Dauphiny side of the Col de Lautaret, 'the winters are so severe, that the inhabitants sometimes find it impossible to break the ground for burying their dead, at that season, and they suspend their bodies in the granaries until the succeeding spring.'

These specimens of the entertaining contents of our Author's journal will sufficiently commend the volume to our readers; but we must make room for the following account of a terrific catastrophe which occurred in the Valais in the year 1818; taken from a paper, by M. Escher de Lenth, in the *Bibl. Univ. de Genève*, tom. viii.

‘ In the spring of 1818, the people of the Valley of Bagnes became alarmed on observing the low state of the waters of the Drance, at a season when the melting of the snows usually enlarged the torrent; and this alarm was increased by the records of similar appearances before the dreadful inundation of 1595, which was then occasioned by the accumulation of the waters behind the débris of a glacier that formed a dam, which remained until the pressure of the water burst the dike, and it rushed through the valley, leaving desolation in its course.

‘ In April 1818, some persons went up the valley to ascertain the cause of the deficiency of water, and they discovered that vast masses of the glaciers of Getroz, and avalanches of snow, had fallen into a narrow part of the valley, between Mont Pleureur and Mont Mauvoisin, and formed a dike of ice and snow 600 feet wide and 400 feet high, on a base of 3000 feet, behind which the waters of the Drance had accumulated, and formed a lake above 7000 feet long. M. Venetz, the engineer of the Valais, was consulted, and he immediately decided upon cutting a gallery through this barrier of ice, 60 feet above the level of the water at the time of commencing, and where the dike was 600 feet thick. He calculated upon making a tunnel through this mass before the water should have risen 60 feet higher in the lake. On the 10th of May, the work was begun by gangs of fifty men, who relieved each other, and worked, without intermission, day and night, with inconceivable courage and perseverance, neither deterred by the daily occurring danger from the falling of fresh masses of the glacier, nor by the rapid increase of the water in the lake, which rose sixty-two feet in thirty-four days—on an average, nearly two feet each day; but it once rose five feet in one day, and threatened each moment to burst the dike by its increasing pressure; or, rising in a more rapid proportion than the men could proceed with their work, render their efforts abortive, by rising above them. Sometimes dreadful noises were heard, as the pressure of the water detached masses of ice from the bottom, which floating, presented so much of their bulk above the water, as led to the belief that some of them were seventy feet thick. The men persevered in their fearful duty without any serious accident; and though suffering severely from cold and wet, and surrounded by dangers which cannot be justly described, by the 4th of June they had accomplished an opening 600 feet long; but having begun their work on both sides of the dike at the same time, the place where they ought to have met was twenty feet lower on the side of the lake than on the other: it was fortunate that latterly the increase of perpendicular height of the water was less, owing to the extension of its surface. They proceeded to level the highest side of

the tunnel, and completed it just before the water reached them. On the evening of the 13th the water began to flow. At first, the opening was not large enough to carry off the supplies of water which the lake received, and it rose two feet above the tunnel; but this soon enlarged from the action of the water, as it melted the floor of the gallery, and the torrent rushed through. In thirty-two hours the lake sunk ten feet, and during the following twenty-four hours twenty feet more: in a few days it would have been emptied; for the floor melting, and being driven off as the water escaped, kept itself below the level of the water within; but the cataract which issued from the gallery melted, and broke up also a large portion of the base of the dike, which had served as its buttress; its resistance decreased faster than the pressure of the lake lessened, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of June the dike burst, and in half an hour the water escaped through the breach, and left the lake empty.

'The greatest accumulation of water had been 800,000,000 of cubic feet; the tunnel, before the disruption, had carried off nearly 330,000,000—Escher says, 270,000,000; but he neglected to add 60,000,000 which flowed into the lake in three days. In half an hour, 530,000,000 cubic feet of water passed through the breach, or 300,000 feet per second; which is five times greater in quantity than the waters of the Rhine at Basle, where it is 1300 English feet wide. In one hour and a half the water reached Martigny, a distance of eight leagues. Through the first 70,000 feet it passed with the velocity of thirty-three feet per second—four or five times faster than the most rapid river known; yet it was charged with ice, rocks, earth, trees, houses, cattle, and men; thirty-four persons were lost, four hundred cottages swept away, and the damage done in the two hours of its desolating power exceeded a million of Swiss livres. All the people of the valley had been cautioned against the danger of a sudden irruption; yet it was fatal to so many. All the bridges in its course were swept away, and among them the bridge of Mauvoisin, which was elevated ninety feet above the ordinary height of the Drance. If the dike had remained untouched, and it could have endured the pressure until the lake had reached the level of its top, a volume of 1,700,000,000 cubic feet of water would have been accumulated there, and a devastation much more fatal and extensive must have been the consequence. From this great danger the people of the valley of the Drance were preserved by the heroism and devotion of the brave men who effected the formation of the gallery in the dike, under the direction of M. Venetz. I know no instance on record of courage equal to this: their risk of life was not for fame or for riches—they had not the usual excitements to personal risk, in a world's applause or gazetted promotion,—their devoted courage was to save the lives and property of their fellow-men, not to destroy them. They steadily and heroically persevered in their labours, amidst dangers such as a field of battle never presented, and from which some of the bravest brutes that ever lived would have shrunk in dismay. These truly brave Valaisans deserve all honour!' pp. 170—175.

Art. VII. *The Chronology of History*, containing Tables, Calculations, and Statements indispensable for ascertaining the Dates of Historical Events, and of public and private Documents, from the earliest Periods to the present Time. By Sir Harris Nicolas, K.C.M.G. (*Lardner's Cyclopædia*, Vol. XLIV.) Fcap. 8vo. Price 6s. London, 1833.

THE manner in which the Editor and Publishers of this Cyclopædia are exerting themselves, not simply to keep faith with the public, but to render the series in all respects deserving of permanent reputation as well as extensive sale, deserves the very warmest encomium. We have been unable to keep pace with the publication, and regret exceedingly not having, before this, reviewed several of the volumes which claim an extended notice. Among these, we may particularize Mr. Stebbing's Church History, of which we hope very speedily to give an account; Sir John Herschel's elegant and valuable treatise on Astronomy; Dr. Lardner's highly entertaining evolution of 'Heat', and the sequel to the excellent history of Spain and Portugal, already noticed in our pages.

We have selected the present volume of the series, not merely as being the last in order of publication, but as it admits of a brief but emphatic notice, without being *read*; for, to us Reviewers, especially in this melting weather, the hardest part of our toil is that from which we cannot honestly discharge ourselves—the reading. But this is a book not designed to be read, any more than an Index, or a Catalogue, or the Nautical Almanack; and yet no *reader* ought to be without it. It is, indeed, a general index to history, a calendar of calendars, a universal chronometer by which all historical repeaters may be regulated, a glossary of all dates, and a key to all eras; in short, an apparatus for ascertaining the longitude and latitude of every important fact on the face of history. The labour which its compilation must have cost, is such as could have been submitted to, one would imagine, by no one but an amateur antiquary, or a strong lover of facts and dates, who had been annoyed beyond patience by the inaccuracies of his predecessors, and who set about the task of verification *con amore*. By how much we should have been sorry to undertake the work, by so much do we feel under personal obligation to Sir Harris Nicolas for putting us into possession of such a convenient and valuable 'hand-book of History'. The occasion and room there was for such a work, may be inferred from this curious fact among others; that 'every Table of the Regnal Tables of our Sovereigns, before printed, is erroneous, not in one or two reigns only, but in nearly every reign from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Edward IV.'; and what is more, those Tables are shewn to have been formed

upon a mistaken principle, the reigns of the early sovereigns not having actually commenced till the day of their coronation. The existing law is different, and it has become a constitutional axiom, that 'the king never dies'. But this 'is not in accordance', Sir Harris remarks, 'with that *ancient constitution* which some individuals consider as the unerring standard of political excellence !'

The plan and contents of this useful volume shall be described in the Author's own words.

'Every historical and antiquarian writer and student must have felt the want of a book of reference, which, in the last century, would have obtained the appropriate name of a "Companion" or "Vade Mecum," from its containing such information as was constantly and indispensably necessary for their pursuits. Besides explanations and Tables for calculating the different Eras and the Dates which are to be found in writers of the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, a full explanation is given of the Old and New Style ; a subject which it is no exaggeration to say is so little understood, as often to render the manner of writing the years according to both styles, thus, 1673, 1684, or 1672-3, 1684-5, &c. productive of embarrassment in persons of the profoundest and most elegant attainments. The various modes in different countries, and, indeed, in the same country, and in the same century, of commencing the year, from Christmas, from the 1st of January, from the 25th of March, or from Easter, often cause perplexity, and, like mistakes in the regnal years, if not carefully attended to, become sources of error to the extent of one entire year in computation. The Calendars of Religious Sects are frequently required ; whilst the Calendar invented during the French Revolution, and which was used in France for fourteen years, must be in the hands of those who refer to any letters or public documents written in that period ; for "the 4th Germinal in the year of the Republic 9" is as little likely to be generally comprehended by the next generation as the date of an edict of the emperor of China. The Glossary of Terms used by ecclesiastics in the middle ages, who describe a day by the "introit," or commencement of the service appointed by the church to be performed thereon, and an explanation of the Canonical Hours, Watches, &c. will frequently be found useful.

'From the constant allusion by historians to the Councils, and the great influence which the Pontiffs exercised over the affairs of Europe, Chronological and Alphabetical Lists of both were very desirable in a work of this nature. Tables of the Succession of the Saxon and Scottish Kings, and of Contemporary Sovereigns ; of the commencement and termination of the Law Terms, which varied in different centuries ; and of the three great Pestilences, which formed epochs for dating instruments in the reign of Edward III., seemed also to be among the most common subjects of historical reference. The confined limits of one volume do not admit of the introduction of various other information which is often required for this purpose ; among which a complete List of the Lord Chancellors and Bishops of England,

and of the great Officers of the Crown, the dates of the most celebrated battles, of the meetings, prorogations and dissolutions of Parliaments, and a succinct genealogical account of all the Royal families of Europe, may be considered the most desirable, and which the Author trusts to find some future opportunity of giving to the public. The delay is, however, in one respect useful, inasmuch as the national archives present many corrections for the catalogues of Bishops in Godwin and Le Neve; and a perfect series of the Chancellors has never yet been compiled. The records of the delivery of the Great Seal are most minute, and often contain interesting historical statements; which circumstance, and the obvious utility of a correct list of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers, have induced the Secretary to the Record Commission, whose zeal for the promotion of historical knowledge induces him promptly to adopt any useful suggestion, to order these entries to be transcribed for publication. Upon the authorities on which this work has been written, it is only necessary to observe, that no source of information has been neglected; and that, in most instances, those sources are pointed out. "*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*," and "*De Vaines. Dictionnaire Raisonné de Diplomatie*," have, as might be expected, been most frequently consulted; and no labour has been spared to render the volume, what the Germans would term, and which, if our language admitted of the expression, would have been the fittest title for it, "*THE HAND-BOOK OF HISTORY*."

pp. xvi.—xix.

Art. VIII. *Report on King's Printers' Patents.* Reprinted by J. R. and C. Childs. 1s. 6d. 1833.

ON the third of July, 1831, a select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons, 'to inquire into the nature and extent of the King's Printers' Patents in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Authority under which they have acted and now act, and how far they have been beneficial to the Government or to the Country, and whether proper to be continued; also, to ascertain the effect of any Drawback now allowed on Paper used by the King's Printers or in the Universities; also, to inquire whether the Printing for both Houses of Parliament can be effected with greater economy; and to report to the House their Observations and Opinion thereupon, together with the Minutes of evidence taken before them.' On the 8th of August, 1832, the Committee made their 'Report' to the House, but without any recommendation of measures in correction of abuses which the examination devolved upon them might be supposed to assume as existing, and without any details of observations or opinions to shew the nature and extent of the impressions made upon the members of the Committee by the evidence laid before them. The importance of the Inquiry will, at first sight, be perceived by every one who is acquainted with the monopoly to which it relates; and there are circumstances which,

independently of its bearings on the public finances, give it an interest at the present time. Instruction should be administered to the people of a country in the most unexpensive forms; and especially should religious instruction be imparted in the freest and most unrestricted manner. The Bible is the necessary means of conveying Christian principles, and its circulation is inseparably connected with the diffusion of them. It will ever be in increasing demand as the work of religious instruction is progressive. It therefore becomes a question of great moment, whether any circumstances affecting the printing and sale of the Bible be preventive of its more extensive use; and, if there should be such, and they should be found to operate in this manner, to consider in what way the hinderances to a larger and freer circulation may be removed. Now, in whatever light we may for other purposes look at the evidence and opinions collected in this 'Report', the fact, that no persons but a very few privileged ones are allowed to print Bibles in this country, and that all persons wanting to purchase Bibles are compelled to purchase them from particular vendors, who have the exclusive privilege of preparing them, is one which, every body must be sensible, is intimately connected with the question of the circulation of the Scriptures. The Bible may, in consequence of the restriction under which it is as a book produced, be sold at a cheaper rate than otherwise it could be obtained. But it is necessary to examine the restrictive laws, and to look to their modes of operation, in order that we may learn the reasons and tendencies of them, and may not be left under such misapprehensions of them as to suspect them of mischievous working, when, by possibility, they may be the very means which we should approve as before all others, for the accomplishment of our purposes. If, on the other hand, the privilege should be favourable to nothing so much as to the interests of those who possess it, and render the advantages held by them a grievance to others, as taxing them by compelling the payment of a higher price for the Bibles which they vend, than they might be charged by other dealers competing with them, it is necessary not only that this should be known, but that the interest of the community should be regarded, and the benefit be secured to them to which they are entitled.

In this view, the 'Report' is of great importance, and should be consulted by every friend to the circulation of the Bible. The British and Foreign Bible Society have paid, during the last three years, for Bibles and Testaments in the languages of Great Britain and Ireland, 158,858*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In this amount, the price of binding is included, which may probably be reckoned at about 28,000*l.*; and on this calculation, the outlay of the Society will be more than 130,000*l.* for the three years, in purchase of Bibles and Testaments, from printers in possession of exclusive privileges.

If the monopoly enhances the price of Bibles and Testaments beyond the value which an unrestricted competition would be the means of fixing upon them, the funds of the Society are necessarily depressed to the extent of the difference. If we suppose this difference to be 10 per cent., (some estimates make it twice, and others three times as much,) we shall then have 13,000*l.* paid by the Society for Bibles and Testaments in three years, over and above the sums which may be described as necessary for the purchase of copies of the Scriptures. The existence and operation of the King's Printers' patents, are thus shewn to be subjects, not only of proper, but of important and necessary attention. We are anxious that they should come under the consideration of the public, because we feel quite confident that a beneficial result will be the consequence of a fair inquiry into their merits. King's Printers, indeed, hold their office as derived from the royal prerogative; but that they are public functionaries, cannot be doubted. In this light the House of Commons have considered them, in instructing and empowering their Committee to inquire 'how far they have been beneficial to the Government or to the Country.' We shall therefore calmly and patiently look into the subject. On such a question, declamatory invective could answer no good purpose.

Andrew Spottiswoode, Esq., a member of the House, examined.

'516. Are you one of the King's Printers in England at the present moment?—I am.

'517. Will you state to the Committee what are the different duties you claim to do under the Patent which you hold?—I cannot clearly do that; I cannot define the prerogative of the Crown; the whole of the prerogative of the Crown, as far as conveyed by the Patent, we claim: I beg to refer the Committee to the Patent.'

An examination of the Patent will shew the very extensive and extraordinary privileges granted by this instrument to the favoured parties. It confers the exclusive right, for the whole period of its continuance, of printing 'all and singular statutes, books, small books, Acts of Parliament, proclamations and injunctions, Bibles and Testaments whatsoever, in the English tongue, or in any other tongue whatsoever, of any translation with notes or without notes; and also, of all Books of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacrament, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, in any volumes whatsoever heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or hereafter to be printed by the command, privilege, or authority of us, our heirs or successors; and also, of all other books whatsoever which we have commanded, or shall command, to be used for the service of God in the churches of that part of our said United Kingdom of Great

‘ Britain and Ireland called England ; and of all other books, volumes, and things whatsoever, by whatsoever name, term, title, or meaning, or by whatsoever names, terms, titles, or meanings they are named, called, or distinguished, or any of them is named, called, or distinguished, or hereafter shall be named, called, or distinguished, heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the English tongue, or in any other mixed tongue, already printed, published, worked off, or hereafter to be published, worked off, or put to the press, by the command, privilege, or authority, of us, our heirs or successors.’

We have extracted so much of the Patent, for the purpose of enabling so many of our readers as are unacquainted with the terms of it, to understand the nature and extent of the powers possessed by the parties holding the office of King’s printer in this country. We can scarcely be surprised that Mr. Spottiswoode should declare that he could not clearly define the different duties arising from the privilege. It is not easy to settle the import of such expressions as those which we have copied from the Patent. ‘ The whole of the prerogative of the Crown, as far as conveyed by the Patent,’ would authorize the possessors of it to adopt measures in favour of their own interests which they probably have never contemplated. Not only are all other persons prohibited from printing any of the works intended, but the grant positively declares, that ‘ no others shall import or cause to be imported, that no one shall sell, or cause to be sold, any of the foresaid works, and that no others shall on any account re-print any of these works.’ It may surprise some of our readers to learn, that an instrument of this character should be in existence and use at the present time ; and they may be disposed to regard it as a relic, dated in less enlightened times than these, when the arbitrary will of the monarch was the origin of the advantages which belonged to exclusive monopolists. A supposition of this kind, however, would be altogether erroneous. The Patent of King’s printer in England is dated the 21st of January, 1830, in the tenth year of George IV., and was then granted for thirty years. The office is therefore secured to the present patentees till 1860. Powers of a similar kind were conferred on the King’s printer for Scotland by the grant of 1785, for forty-one years, commencing at the expiration of the former in 1798 ; and on the King’s printer for Ireland in 1811, to continue during the next forty years ensuing.

It will be seen from the terms of the Patent already cited, that the Legislature of the United Kingdom do not so much as possess the right of printing the statutes which they enact, ‘ Acts of Parliament ’ being expressly named in the exclusive grant, as to be printed only by the royal typographer. Such a circumstance

as this does seem a strange anomaly. 'The omnipotence of Parliament' is a phrase which we sometimes see: that the right of publishing its own acts should not be among the demonstrations of its power, but be exercised by persons not deriving the authority by which they claim to print them from Parliament itself, is a curious position, to be a true one. Neither the House of Lords, nor the House of Commons, it appears, can employ any other press than that of the Patentees, no part of whose authority is derived from the Legislature; they owe it entirely to the exercise of the Prerogative. And in like manner, they claim the sole power to print and sell Bibles and Testaments, deriving the exclusive right from the Patent. In this country, the two Universities claim a perpetual right of printing Bibles and Testaments. On what ground this claim rests, we are not told; but nothing can be more certain than that, together with the King's printers, the printing of the Scriptures is engrossed by them.

At what time the Universities first exercised this privilege, it would perhaps be difficult to determine. The University of Oxford appears not to have printed any Bibles before the time of Charles the Second. From the Cambridge press, Bibles were previously issued; but whether Field, who calls himself in the title-page of some of his editions, 'Printer to the Parliament', supported the privilege of the University independently of that sanction, we have not the present means of ascertaining. There are Bibles, however, of a considerably earlier date, we believe, issued from the Cambridge press. The privilege is enjoyed by the two Universities in perpetuity, not being renewed from time to time by instrument, as in the case of King's printer; but, though there is this difference, we should attribute the possession of the privilege in both cases to the exercise of the royal prerogative. But can any such authority or power belong of right to the King of Great Britain, as that which the exclusive privilege of printing the Bible, professedly derived from him, imports? No substantial reason has ever been assigned for such an assumption, nor can any be adduced which will bear examination. It is altogether frivolous to allege the pretences which, in the absence of every intelligible principle, have been brought forward to sustain a most irrational and mischievous position, that to the Executive it belongs to direct and control the use of the Bible. 'I cannot conceive that the King has any prerogative to grant a monopoly as to Bibles for the instruction of mankind in revealed religion.' Every one who looks to the case without prejudice, and without the bias which interest gives to the judgements of the mind, must have the same view of it as that which was taken by the high authority whose *dictum* we have thus quoted. In Scotland, where the Confession of Faith is the law of the ecclesiastical establishment, there is no acknowledgement of a visible head of the

Church; it cannot then be as head of the Church that the King in Scotland confers the privilege of printing Bibles. If, in Scotland, the King does not grant as head of the Church, he does not in England, as head of the Church, invest the patentees with the privilege; the prerogative is in both cases the same. But, indeed, it is not necessary to discuss this matter minutely. The case, we think, is plain. The exclusive privilege is nothing else, in every case, than a surviving remainder of the arbitrary power once claimed and most extravagantly exercised by the British sovereigns, of conferring monopolies according to their will and pleasure, and of controlling the press for the purpose of preventing the free expression of opinion. Time was, when the use of the Bible was penally prohibited, and both printers and readers of it were denounced as evil-doers. It was then considered as a dangerous book, not proper for every one's use; and who should read it, and who print it, were matters which the royal will assumed to itself to declare. Other times have succeeded. No prohibition of the Bible now restrains its use. Why is not the change as complete in the one case as in the other, and the printing of the Bible left as open and free as the reading of it? There is no allegation now, that the Bible is a dangerous book; and provided only that the book is purchased of certain persons, all may circulate it, and men may, if they please, fill the world with Bibles. But why should Bibles be bought of those persons only? The patent is shewn, and no person must invade it.

It must, however, be allowed, that the monopoly of Bible-printing is not rested altogether on the arbitrary ground of undefined prerogative. To reasonable considerations we cannot refuse our attention; and we shall therefore examine the only allegations in favour of the monopoly which are at all of this character. The Bible monopoly, it is said, is necessary to protect the text from alteration, and to preserve its purity; 'and if it cannot be proved that this has been upon the whole the result, there can be no pretence for preserving the monopolies.' It is altogether a fallacy to conceive of the monopolies as public trusts for the protection of the text. The patents are quite silent in respect to such object, and the original granters had no such end in contemplation. But, as this is ground taken in favour of the monopolies, we must examine it; and if it should appear that the exclusive privilege is necessary to ensure correctness, that accuracy is not by other means to be obtained, something will have been done towards vindicating the propriety of the grant to the patentees. Whether such be the alternative, may be ascertained from the evidence, and from facts which are open to every one's consideration.

There is *prima facie* evidence that the correct printing of the Bible, and the securing of the purity of the text, could not be

in the contemplation of the grantors of the patent. In Scotland, the patentees of King's printer are not printers. Sir David Hunter Blair, who succeeded to the patent in 1800, is not a printer. His father who preceded him, was not a printer, nor was Mr. Bruce, who was succeeded by his niece in 1826. Mr. Eyre, one of the patentees in England, was not brought up to the business of a printer, nor was the late Mr. Reeves, another of the patentees. Now if the exclusive privilege of printing Bibles were a trust in reference to the protection of the text, the absurdity of conferring it upon persons who know nothing of the details of printing, must at once be seen. Other reasons than the competency of the persons to furnish correct copies of the Scriptures, have led to the appointment of the patentees.

Mr. William Waddel, manager for the King's Printer's Patentees in Scotland, in answer to Question 452, Do you mean to say that you ever print an edition without an error in it?—says: 'No, I think errors will occur to the quickest eye.' And in reply to 457, How much more frequent are the revises of the Bible than revises of the ordinary printing in your establishment? he states, that such revises are three times more at least. Afterwards (Q. 459), he remarks, that the present system secures the purity of the text, which would, he thinks, infallibly be corrupted if the printing were open to every irresponsible person. Owen Rees, Esq., a partner in Longman's house, is asked, (Q. 703), Do you suppose that the text is kept more correct by the patent?—and gives his answer: 'I know that great attention has been paid to the text; it is not impossible that other people might do it as well.' Q. 704. 'You were understood to say that if that printing was open to competition, that accuracy might be obtained?—I think that they would become much less accurate than they are at present.' Mr. Robert Besley, in answer to the question, No. 1346, As a person bred to printing, do you apprehend there would be any difficulty in preserving the text accurate? replies: 'Certainly not; I believe there are few, even among the country printers, that would not be capable of printing good common Bibles and Testaments, and who would be perfectly competent to protect the text from error.' We should not pronounce it 'utterly impossible' to print the Bible without an error, because an immaculate Bible might *possibly* be obtained, and the question of accuracy does not require us to look to opinions involving extreme cases. The point on which we have to form our judgment is, the measure of protection against errors, which any one system, in preference to other arrangements, may include. If the value of the King's Printer's Patent, in respect to the public, is to be estimated by the standard of perfect accuracy in the Bibles which it covers, its insufficiency must be admitted in every instance in which an error is detected, and no faultless copy can, we

believe, be produced. Our demand, therefore, must not be so high as to require faultless copies of the Scriptures, either in this case or in any other. We must measure our expectations and our opinions by the knowledge which we derive from our experience and our observation; and though these will not justify us in requiring proofs of entire exemption from error in any description of works issuing from the press, they may be regarded as authorities for our claiming an almost perfect text in our printed Bibles. But what shall be regarded as errors in the text of our printed English Bibles? It may seem to be an inquiry of easy and ready determination which is here proposed; but the minutes of evidence comprehended in the 'Report,' present many instances of verbal differences exhibited as *errata*, which we can no otherwise consider than as proofs of a very defective acquaintance with the text of the English Bibles, and as examples of the application of a very questionable criticism in its emendation. Some of the witnesses produce passages not to be found by the guidance of their references; others cite as errors integral portions of the genuine Scriptures; and in other cases, we meet with quotations which perplex us with their irrelevancy and their ambiguity. As the question of correctness is one of the most important in the whole range of the inquiry, we shall furnish from the 'Report' some of the passages to which we have thus alluded.

Mr. Robert Child is asked, Question 1221, Have you had an opportunity of examining any Bibles or Testaments, to state how far they are accurately printed?—and in his answer, he refers to a briefer Testament, printed by Eyre and Strahan, as containing in the four Gospels only, thirty-seven errors.

' 1224. What are the errors?—In Matthew, ch. 12. v. 39. for "to" read "unto"; Mark 9. v. 41. for "*cold water*" read "cold"; Luke 4. v. 5. for "shewed" read "shewed unto"; 19 Luke, v. 9. for "forasmuch" read "forsomuch"; John 10. v. 28. for "*any*" read "*any man*"; same chapter v. 29. for "*none*" read "*no man*"; John 14. v. 20. for "the" read "my"; John 14. v. 20. for "*the Father*" read "my Father"; &c. &c.'

Mr. Child has not very particularly referred us to the book from which he has extracted these alleged errors; nor is it at all necessary that we should have it before us in order to shew the extreme carelessness with which he must have examined the text of the New Testament in preparing the specimens thus laid before the Committee. In the preceding list, there are eight examples of error produced. Let us consider them. Matt. 12. 39. for 'to' read 'unto.' But 'to' is not an error: it appears in the earliest copies of the authorised Translation, and in many of the modern editions, 'said to them.' In a briefer Testament printed by Eyre and Strahan, 1830, now before us, the reading

is 'unto.' Mark 9. 41. for 'cold water' read 'cold.' But 'cold' is not, in any form, read in this passage; neither in the original, nor in any copy of an English Testament that we have seen: all the editions read 'a cup of water', and the Greek is, ποτήριον ὕδατος. In John 10. 28. 'any' is a correct reading, and so is 'none', v. 29. These words are indeed instances of deviation from the reading of many editions; but they are found in many copies, and they fully express the meaning of the Greek τις and οὐδεὶς. Mr. Child's last two instances, John 14. 20. can refer only to one and the same variation. In these eight examples, then, of alleged error, there are at most but three that can be sustained, and if the rest of the thirty-seven be at all like them, a very large deduction must be made from his list.

Mr. Parker, Question 1893, refers to a Bible with Henry's Commentary, published by Messrs. Child, as containing many errors; and in his subsequent examination, in answer to Question 2306, Will you refer the Committee to a few of these errors?—produces the following examples, which are certainly of a more serious character than those attributed by Mr. R. Child to the London brevier Testament.

'The first of all is "thou *will* prepare," instead of "thou *wilt* prepare," in the 10th Psalm and the 17th verse. Again, in the 27th Psalm and the 9th verse, the Committee will find it is "far from *me*," whereas in Henry's Bible it is "far from *thee*." In Psalm 127, and the 4th verse, "as *arrows*," it is printed "as *sorrows*." Then here is in the 90th Psalm and the 16th verse, "Glory unto *their* children," and it is here, "Glory unto *thy* children."

Mr. Parker, Question 1894, adduces as an error of importance, 'And' for 'Or' in Psalm 24. 3. 'And who shall stand in his holy place?' instead of 'Or who shall stand in his holy place?' 'And,' there can be no doubt, is the proper reading. It appears in all the early impressions, and is King James's Translators' rendering of the Hebrew *vau*. Mr. Parker refers to Blayney's edition as the standard one, and the text is read with 'Or,' in Blayney's revision; but that can be no reason for representing 'And,' the original and genuine reading, as 'an error of some importance.' In his answer to Question 1989, Mr. John Child produces 'sycamore with an *o*, sycamore, and not sycamore,' as an error. 'Sycamore,' however, is the form in which the early copies read the word. He very properly remarks, that many of the examples produced as errors, are only variations between the different editions, and that 'the mentioning of errors is only of use to show that the Patentees are not immaculate.' But the question, Which are the proper readings? is not affected by these remarks; and the variations are by the witnesses adduced for the purpose of shewing in particular editions the inferiority of their text, compared with that of others.

We must express our surprise, that the passages produced before the Committee as containing erroneous readings, are so few, and that the supposed or real errors are so unimportant. The members of the Committee could receive, from the instances alleged to prove the defective state of the English Bible, only presumptions, or confirmations of opinion, in favour of its correctness; and must have concluded, from the evidence before them, that no material alteration had been introduced into its text. Indeed, the 'Report' must be considered as satisfactory in this respect. Such instances of error as it exhibits, are, with but few exceptions, of scarcely any moment; and we must suppose that the witnesses who alleged the incorrectness of the English Bibles, would produce the most important of the variations detected by them. We are compelled to remark in the testimonies comprised in the 'Report,' such inconsistencies as are more than sufficient to induce us to form an opinion unfavourable to the pretensions of competency, which the giving of evidence on such questions as those to which they relate, would assume. One witness describes the inaccuracy of Blayney's Bible as being very considerable, Q. 2101; another speaks of it as containing some trifling errors, 1439.

Eliakim Littell, called in, and examined.

' 1026. Are you a bookseller in the United States?—I am.

' 1027. In what Province?—In Pennsylvania.

' 1038. Is the printing Bibles and Testaments exclusively confined to any persons in any part of the United States?—No.

' 1032. Do you speak confidently when you say that no persons have any monopoly in any state?—I am quite certain of it.

' 1033. Are the American editions generally correctly printed?—I never heard any doubt expressed of the correctness of any of them.

' 1034. Have you yourself ever found errors in any of them?—I have not; but I have never read them for the purpose.

' 1035. Have you ever heard that there was any one State in the United States in which the text was more correct than in another?—Never.

' 1036. Are Bibles and Testaments actually printed by a variety of persons?—As many persons as choose may print them; we are continually printing them; frequently new editions are issued.

' 1037. What is the relative price of Bibles, compared with other books in the United States; are they dearer, or cheaper?—Very much cheaper than other books.

' 1038. Taking the same quantity of matter and equal paper, you say they are cheaper?—They are very much cheaper than other books.

' 1039. How do you account for that?—There is a certain sale for all that are printed; there is no stock on hand, and very large editions can be printed; and of course the expense of setting up type comes to very little on each copy.

' 1049. As every man may print Bibles, has it ever come to your knowledge, that in the United States any editions have been wilfully

corrupted?—There never has been any suspicion of that, as I have heard.

‘1050. Then how is the uniformity and accuracy of the text guaranteed to the public?—As to wilful corruption, there could be no motive, I should think, for the publisher would not willingly destroy his property; and even an unintentional error would lower the value of his plates; of course he would be obliged to have them corrected as soon as it was discovered. Usually, great care is taken.’

With this evidence before us, we must express ourselves altogether satisfied that a monopoly is not necessary as a safeguard to protect the press from error, and that equal correctness in printing may be secured without any exclusive right. If the monopoly could render the workmen of the privileged press infallible, then its value might be conceded. But since it leaves them without any advantages over their brethren in other offices, it is ineffective, and indefensible. It will scarcely be pretended, that the printers in the service of the Patentees are more favoured with means of becoming skilful in their business than others. In other books, the printing is laudably correct; and the same motives which influence those from whose presses they proceed, would govern them in the issue of Bibles.

Some of the persons examined by the Committee propose, as a measure necessary or desirable for ensuring correctness in the printing of Bibles, in the event of the removal of the existing restrictions, the appointment of a public officer, or of a number of persons, who should revise the sheets issued from every press, and without whose *imprimatur* no Bibles should be allowed to be published; a penalty, in all cases of publication not sanctioned by their authority, to be levied on the offenders. We are entirely opposed to every suggestion of this kind. Such an office would be found utterly inefficient to answer the purpose of protecting the integrity of the Bible. Who should appoint the persons? Dr. Lee's evidence is, on this point, in accordance with Mr. Littell's, and is to us quite satisfactory.

‘2263. Having the knowledge that in America the trade in Bibles is entirely free, and having heard no complaints from the United States of America of the want of correctness, would not the general competition in trade, and the reputation of accuracy, be sufficient to satisfy the people of Scotland, and to preserve purity in the text?—I really do not personally feel the difficulty to the extent that I have occasion to know other persons feel it. I think we might just be as secure with regard to the preservation of the purity of the text, if the printing of a Translation were open to all, as we all know that the printing of the far more precious Originals is open to all. The Book which the Church of Scotland alone acknowledges as the standard is, the inspired Original, the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament; we find that these books are printed by all and

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sundry printers, who choose to venture upon it, and we have not found that any intentional errors are committed; -and we have not found that complaints to any great extent have ever been made against the correctness of a variety of editions which have been printed, both in Scotland and elsewhere, of the Originals. On that ground, I certainly cannot personally apprehend that there is any very great risk; but I know that there are many persons with whom I converse, who do feel a difficulty upon that subject.'

We are altogether incredulous about wilful corruptions of the Bible. There is no proof of its direct falsification by any party. It is a very ancient allegation, and has often been revived by opponents against their adversaries, that alterations have been purposely introduced into the sacred text. Of such charges, there is no solid evidence; nor is there the least reason for providing against imaginary dangers like this. We do not wish to see the appointment of any official persons, civil or ecclesiastical, as inspectors of Bibles.

We cannot conceal our surprise at the part which the Committee of Dissenting Ministers have taken in reference to the English Bible. They speak of the version of King James's Translators as 'our only legal standard text;' and in the following passage of their letter to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, they avow sentiments which we must take leave to consider as very strange ones, for such persons as those whose signatures appear to it, to maintain and publish.

'As the plea of improvement has been extensively acted upon, we feel bound to express our opinion of the extreme danger of its unauthorized application in this peculiar case. It is well known to have been, on other occasions, the plea of the most heretical, as it is not unfrequently that of the most incompetent critics on the Bible. We recognize as Protestants but *one* English authorized version, and we respectfully contend for the restoration and protection of this, until, with equal publicity, equal authority, and superior learning, another can be made.'

It is, we think, not a little extraordinary, that men whose avowed principles are in the most direct and positive opposition to every kind of secular interference with religion, and who contend for the most perfect freedom of using and interpreting the sacred writings, should refer to the version of King James's Translators as the 'only legal standard text,' and maintain the authority from which it emanated as a rightful and competent one. That they do so, is evident. The 'equal authority' to which they ascribe the preparation of an anticipated new translation of the Bible, is that of the head of the State, by whose command the Version, for the restoration and protection of which they contend, was executed. But are we to form such an estimate of the principles asserted by these Ministers, as to reckon among the

functions which belong to the head of the State, the office of determining and prescribing the form and manner in which the sacred Scriptures shall be read and circulated? It is very curious to compare with this letter of the Committee of Dissenting Ministers, the answers of Dr. Lee to the following questions.

‘2102. Is there any particular edition of the Bible to which the Scottish Patentees adhere as a standard?—They themselves can tell what they consider as a standard. I am not aware of any particular edition to which they refer as a standard.

‘2103. To what standard do the Church of Scotland refer?—The Church of Scotland recognizes no standard text except the inspired originals.

‘2104. The Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek?—Yes, those are pronounced by the Confession of Faith to be authentic, and no other is acknowledged.’

What they mean by the plea of improvement having been the plea of the heretical, we are unable to understand. Do they refer to the guardianship of the Bible by the Executive Government as the true and proper safeguard of sound opinions in religion? We do not mean to offend them; nor would we put ourselves forward capriciously to find fault with their expressions. But it is impossible for us to leave unnoticed the sentiments which they have recorded. How can that be even to them ‘a legal standard text’ from which they claim and exercise, as we know they do, the liberty of departing?

In estimating the price of Bibles and Testaments as compared with other books, there are several circumstances to be taken into the account. Nothing is paid by the Patentees for copyright, nothing for advertisements; they receive on all the paper used by them, three pence per pound weight drawback; and they have a ready demand for the Bibles and Testaments printed by them, to an extent which does not exist in respect to any other description of books. These are very great advantages; and every one who considers them, and compares the circumstances as between the patentees and the printers of other works, must be prepared to expect a proportionate reduction in the price charged for Bibles and Testaments; a price so much lower as the cost of production is in the one case so much less than in the other, and as the sale is so much more ready and extensive. In looking to the monopoly, however, we must not lose sight of the circumstances which may tend to regulate it, and so to modify its powers as to prevent such effects as might follow from its unrestrained operations. There are, in England, three parties in equal possession of the privilege; the King’s printer, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It does not appear that they are in ‘combination to sustain the advantages arising from the privilege;’ since the latter are described by the King’s printer as his rivals. In some de-

gree, then, it would seem that there *is* competition, and the rivalry may have some effect in preventing a higher price being demanded for Bibles. In Scotland, the privilege is entirely in the hands of the King's printer.

Andrew Spottiswoode, Esq., one of the King's printers in England, states, answer to question 540. 'Upon the sale of Bibles, there is no such profit as a bookseller has on general books; the price of Bibles is less than half the price of other books of the same extent; in the Bible, the exclusive privilege enables us to sell more and to sell cheaper than any bookseller could sell another book of the same size.' Again, in reply to question 600, he explains that the comparative cheapness arises out of the exclusive right. 'The circumstances of the case render it impossible for us to ask an unreasonable price; the competition of the two Universities is so strong, and they have such advantages over us, that it was with great difficulty we could get into the market at all, some few years ago.' Owen Rees, Esq. a partner in Longman's house, who are agents to the King's Printers upon the sale of Bibles and Testaments, gives his opinion Q. 690, that if the monopoly of the King's Printer was taken away, those books could not be sold for less, and that no books are at this time sold cheaper. On the other hand; Bibles and Testaments are represented by other witnesses as most extravagantly charged to the public by the privileged printers. Mr. John Child, Quest. 1012, is of opinion, that Bibles and Testaments might be sold at from forty-five to fifty per cent. less than they now are. Mr. Lawford is quite satisfied, Q. 1255, that if a competition were permitted there would be thirty per cent. at least in favour of the public. Mr. Besley, 1343, has no doubt that in the result of throwing the trade open, the price of Bibles and Testaments would be diminished very considerably, that they would be so cheap from competition, as to entirely supersede the necessity of giving books away. Mr. Offor, 1427, estimates the reduction which would follow competition, at from twenty-five to thirty per cent. Much conflicting evidence will be found in the 'Report;' and it requires very patient attention to follow the witnesses in the estimates which they furnish of the cost of printing Bibles. Of course, in this, as in all other cases of interested feeling, the different statements will be received with caution, and the differences, probably, on a fair adjustment of them, may prove to be less remarkable than at first sight they appear. The Bibles issued from the privileged presses have, with few exceptions, been printed from moveable types, Messrs. Child's estimates are given for stereotype editions. No man in his senses, Mr. Child remarks, 1993, would set up in moveable types to keep the whole standing, any such book as the small pica Bible, the difference being as 318*l.* to 1,653*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* It would, he says, Q. 1957, be pre-

posteriorous to print editions of 10,000 copies of demy duodecimo Testaments from moveable types.

‘Evidence of Owen Rees, Esq.

‘711. Look at that Bible. [*Showing to Witness an edition of the Bible, sold by the King’s Printer, and marked No. 2.*—What is the difference?—It is small pica.

‘712. Can you state whether that is sold at the same price with Robertson’s Works?—No; Robertson’s is 20s., and the Bible is 10s. 6d.

‘713. What proportion does the price of that edition, as to the quantity of matter and of paper, bear to the Bibles or Testaments, or to the two together?—Very nearly the same.

‘714. Is not, in fact, that edition of Robertson’s Works, taking quantity of type and quality of paper into account, as cheap as that Bible?—No, Robertson’s is nearly double the price of that Bible. The paper of that Bible is larger and more expensive: it is a thicker paper.’

Another version of this portion of the evidence appears in the ‘daily minutes of evidence,’ as follows.

‘711. Look at that Bible. [*Showing to Witness an edition of the Bible, sold by the King’s Printer, and marked No. 2.*—What is the difference?—It is small pica.

‘712. Can you state whether that is sold at the same price with Robertson’s Works?—YES, 20s.

‘713. What proportion does the price of that edition, as to the quantity of matter and of paper, bear to the Bibles or Testaments, or to the two together?—Very nearly the same.

‘714. Is not, in fact, that edition of Robertson’s Works, taking quantity of type and quality of paper into account, as cheap as that Bible?—YES; the paper of the Bible is larger and more expensive; it is a thicker paper.’

There is certainly some confusion in the statements, as compared in the daily Minutes and in the published ‘Report.’ Do they not refer to different Bibles? The Bible under examination, Mr. Child informs us (p. 23, note,) was *not* of an edition charged 10s. 6d., but of that described in the King’s Printer’s ‘List,’ ‘Octavo, small pica type, fine wove royal paper, best ink, ‘cold-pressed, stereotyped, 1l.’ But would it be proper to compare the edition of Robertson’s Works, published by Messrs. Child, with a book of this description? The cost price of the British and Foreign Bible Society’s small pica 8vo. Bible, binding included, is 10s. The ‘medium 8vo. small pica’ Bible, in the Oxford list, is 9s. These are very beautiful books, and are the copies, with the corresponding edition of the King’s Printer, 10s. 6d., with which the Robertson’s Works from Messrs. Child’s press should, we suppose, be compared, for the purpose of estimating their relative cheapness. The confusion is, we think,

cleared up, and the true state of the case represented, in the following answers of Mr. Joseph Parker.

‘1870. Are you aware of the books printed by Cadell and Child, Robertson’s Works and Gibbon?—I should be glad to compare our Bible with any of Child’s books; I should be proud to be able to do it.

‘1871. Have you seen the small pica editions of Robertson’s and Gibbon’s Works?—I have not seen either. A comparison has been made between these books and the small pica Bible. [*Shewing a small pica Bible.*] That is a large paper of the small pica Bible; and the sale of it so small, that I can prove that of that book in seven years not 200 copies have been sold; it is merely a choice book. The book in the hand of the chairman, the small paper, sells for 9s., whereas that sells at 20s.; the only difference is, that one is printed upon a larger paper, and the price is put upon that, because it is a choice book; but it has little or no sale; one is a small pica Bible, the other is the same book on royal paper. I printed some years ago a book for Mr. Gaisford, who may be known to some of the members of the Committee, the price of which was two guineas; we printed a few large paper copies, and sold them at twenty pounds each.

‘1872. Then your opinion is, that the comparison made between the large paper small pica Bible, and the edition of Robertson and Gibbon, is not a fair comparison?—Certainly not.

‘1873. Is it your opinion that Bibles are cheaper than any other books now printing?—Yes, I have no doubt about it; I have no question about it; I can shew that either of these works, of Robertson and Gibbon, will be nearly double the price of the regular Oxford Bible.’

The small pica Bible at 10s. 6d. is the book to be compared; and this is unquestionably a cheaper book than the Robertson. It is sold at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and a fraction, $\frac{3}{10}$, per sheet, the Robertson at $3\frac{1}{4}d.$

‘Mr. Robert Besley, examined.

‘1313. At what is that sold by the King’s Printers’ agents?—The agent’s price for that is 1l.; it is an octavo royal Bible, small pica type.

‘1314. At what per copy could any printer supply that?—Within a fraction of 6s. 3d.

‘1315. Do you consider that there could be any hesitation on the part of any person publishing a Bible, to print as many as 5,000 or 10,000?—Certainly not.

‘1316. In that calculation, have you made any allowance for the drawback on paper used for Bibles and Testaments, which is made to the King’s Printers?—None whatever; I have taken the paper according to the paper-maker’s price.

‘1317. If you were allowed a drawback equal to what the King’s Printer’s and the Universities are allowed, how much lower in price would each copy be?—It depends upon the weight of paper used.—On the octavo Bible the drawback would amount to about 2s.

‘ 1318. Then if the drawback were allowed to you as it is to the King’s Printers and to the Universities, you could supply this at 2s. less than the estimate you have given in?—Certainly.

‘ 1319. In this estimate you include nothing as bookseller’s profit, but merely as printer’s profit?—Merely the printers.’

The octavo royal Bible, small pica type, charged at 1*l.*, is the book of which, Mr. Besley says, there could be no hesitation on the part of any person to print as many as 5,000 or 10,000 in one edition. We should judge this to be an erroneous opinion, and are confirmed by Mr. Parker’s evidence, who stated that, of this Bible, not so many as 200 copies have been sold in seven years. In other particulars, Mr. Besley’s evidence is questionable. He states, that a printer could supply this Bible at the price of 6*s.* 3*d.*, and, with the deduction of the drawback, at 4*s.* 3*d.* His calculations are made for moveable types. Now, Mr. John Child, Quest. 1968, gives in an estimate for the very Bible, in stereotype, deducting the drawback on the paper, and including nothing but the cost of production, which is 5*s.* 6*d.*, and which, he says, ought to be sold for 10*s.* or 11*s.* Between these two estimates, there is a most remarkable difference, Mr. Child’s being more than 25 per cent. above Mr. Besley’s. It is the same book, though Mr. Besley gives the agent’s price, 1*l.*, Mr. Child the wholesale price, 16*s.*

It is unnecessary for us to go fully into the question of cheapness, as we have expressed our opinion so decidedly in favour of an open competition. We are, however, bound to give our readers the results of the evidence and estimates furnished by Mr. Child. He states that he could supply to the trade, the Minion Bible charged by the King’s Printer to the public 5*s.* 6*d.*, and to the trade 4*s.* 5*d.*, at 3*s.* or 3*s.* 3*d.*—the Minion Testament charged 1*s.* 3*d.* and 1*s.*, at 6½*d.* or 7*d.*—the Brevier Testament charged 1*s.* 3*d.* and 10*d.*, at 7*d.* or 7½*d.*—the Small Pica Bible, 10*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* 3*d.*, at 4*s.* 3*d.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* In giving his Estimates, he calculated the cost price of each; that is, the exact cost to himself as printer, without any profit, but deducting the drawback. An edition of the Small Pica Bible of 10,000 copies, he calculates at £1,709 5*s.*, making the price of each copy 3*s.* 3*d.*, and for every additional 1,000, £139 2*s.* 6*d.*,—about 2*s.* 9½*d.* each copy. 1,000 copies of the Brevier Testament would be at the rate of 5½*d.* each. Actual cost of the Minion Testament, 4*d.* per copy; and of the Minion Bible, for the first 10,000 copies 2*s.* 3*d.*, and for every succeeding 1,000, 1*s.* 9*d.* each. Mr. Parker, for the Oxford press, also furnished Estimates, which are very different from those of Mr. Child; and in most of the instances, the discrepancies are not a little perplexing. Mr. Child’s estimates for paper sometimes seem, as in the case of the Small Pica Bible, to be erroneous. But these are

points which we cannot discuss ; and we notice them only for the purpose of inviting attention to a subject of great importance, which should not be overlooked by the numerous Committees of our Bible Societies. Let the whole subject be thoroughly examined *.

It is obvious to remark, that, taking Mr. Child's Estimates, and considering the printing of the Bible as open to all, there would even then be a kind of monopoly of that class of printed books. His Estimates are made in reference to stereotype, (the privileged printers use moveable types,) and to editions of ten thousand copies, the extreme cheapness depending upon the numbers afterwards printed from the plates. But it is very evident, that the supply of Bibles at this rate would be undertaken but by few persons. The annual demand of the British and Foreign Bible Society for all sorts of Bibles and Testaments in the languages of the United Kingdom, is somewhere about 260,000; and this number, when taken off in very large editions, would limit the competition. We should suppose that the presses now privileged, would have their full share of the printing in the event of an open trade, as they must have facilities for supplying the demand for Bibles, equal at least to those of other printers. The University Establishments pay no rent, and have ample resources at command. We have no expectation, therefore, that it would be found practicable to compete with them in an open market. Their present profits, we are assured, do not, on the average, exceed 10 per cent. on the capital employed; but should competition take place, they would, no doubt, sacrifice the whole of their profits, or submit to loss, rather than suffer themselves to be undersold. The immediate effect of abolishing the monopoly would, probably, be the reduction of the price of Bibles below the cost at which they could continue to be supplied with any advantage to the producer. This can scarcely be regarded as desirable.

* The subject has, we understand, occupied the attention of the Parent Committee ; and they have obtained estimates, which, if to be depended upon, would warrant the conviction that Bibles and Testaments could not be *permanently* supplied to them on lower terms. The cost price to the Society, of the Brevier Testament (fine paper) is 10d.; of the Nonpareil Bible, 2s. 4d.; Minion Bible, 3s. 8d.; of the Brevier 8vo Bible, 4s. 4d. It is alleged, that Mr. Child, in his Evidence, estimated the cost of Bibles and Testaments to the Bible Society at about 20 per cent. more than it has actually paid.

ART. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Brockedon has in the press a Volume containing his personal Narrative of the Journeys he made to illustrate the Passes of the Alps.

In the press, a Dictionary of Geography, Ancient and Modern. By the Author of "The Modern Traveller."

On the 1st of July was published, in demy 8vo., printed entirely with type cast expressly for the Work, the First Number of a New English Version of the Great Work of Cuvier—"Le Regne Animale," or "The Animal Kingdom." This illustrious Naturalist, shortly before his decease, put forth a final Edition of his Animal Kingdom, and in so altered and improved a form as to give it a completely new character. This publication, consequently, has had the effect of superseding the old Edition, together with all the Translations made from that Edition, including the large Work published under the superintendence of Dr. Griffiths. The Work will consist of 36 Monthly Numbers; price One Shilling each. The Plates will amount to no fewer than Five Hundred; they will be engraved on steel, and coloured. For the sum of thirty-six shillings, the Version of a celebrated standard Work, richly illustrated, will be obtained, which, in the original, with its plates, costs more than thirty-six pounds!

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Lectures on Painting, delivered at the Royal Academy, by Thomas Phillips, Esq., M.A., will shortly appear in 1 Vol. 8vo.

Preparing for publication, A Translation of the Practical Treatise of Mme. Boivin and M. Duges, on the Diseases of the Uterus and its Appendages. By G. O. Heming, of Kentish Town, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. With Additions.

A little book which has been often republished but is at present scarce, entitled "A Present for an Apprentice," is now reprinting with additions from modern authors, and will soon appear.

"Counsels and Consolations for those in trouble and affliction," by Jonathan Farr, is reprinting from the American edition, and may be expected at the beginning of September.

On August 31, will be published, Vol. III. (being the Last) of *The Life of the Late Dr. Adam Clarke*; (from Original Papers,) by a Member of his Family.

In the press, *An Introduction to General History and Chronology*; containing an Outline of Ancient and Modern History; Notices of the best Greek, Latin, and English Historians; and a Series of Blank Tables for the Chronological Arrangement of Historical Events, for the Use of Students. By the Rev. J. Gilderdale, M.A.

The Author of "*Selwyn*" has a new volume in the press, entitled, *Olympia Morata*; her Times, Life and Writings. This work has been arranged and compiled from contemporary and other Authorities, with the Author's usual tact and discrimination, and is looked for with corresponding interest.

The Van Diemen's Land Almanack for the Current Year has just reached this Country, and will be published in a few days. This valuable little volume is so full of useful information, that it may justly be entitled *A Complete Guide to the Emigrant*, combined with a general History of that rising Colony.

Mr. James Baillie Fraser, the Author of *Kuzzilbash*, the Highland Smugglers, &c., has contributed to the *Library of Romance*, a Persian Romance, entitled the *Khan's Tale*, filled with the same stirring interest and racy originality which distinguished the *Kuzzilbash*.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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